Daily Report

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Yugoslavia

TANJUG reports the government's reponse to the U.S. Transportation Department's decision to revoke landing rights for Yugoslav Airlines. "The decision contravenes basic principles contained in the UN Charter and the UN declaration on the principles of international law and friendly relations and cooperation between states." The government adds that the decision "is motivated exclusively by political reasons which are placed above the interests of the citizens and economies of both countries."

Vienna DER STANDARD interviewed Bujar Bukoshi, the "prime minister of the underground government in Kosovo." currently living "in exile" in an undetermined location, who commented on the upcoming elections in Kosovo. When asked if the Albanians in Kosovo want "unification with Albania," Bukoshi responded, "we do not see this as a short-term project which means that we are ready for the biggest compromise in Europe. We are renouncing unification for the time being. However, we demand Kosovo's recognition as a state."

In an interview with Munich's SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Vik Draskovic, chief of the Serbian Renewal Movement, labeled Milosevic, a "Serbian Saddam." When asked who was responsible for the war, Draskovic replied, "the Serbian and Croat presidents. Tudjman and Milosevic resemble each other considerably, and mentally they are twins. They keep each other upright." As a solution to end the war, Draskovic suggested, "Western Hercegovina, which has a Croatian population of 98 percent, should go to Croatia. At the same time, Bosnia should get Serbian Krajina."

Bulgaria

Sofia Radio reports a bomb threat "interrupted" assembly debates in parliament this morning. "A woman's voice called the Third Precinct of the Sofia City Police and repeated three times that a bomb has been placed in the National Assembly building." BTA reports that assembly members were not allowed to leave while the building was checked for "explosive devices." Assembly members were later summoned back to the chamber. Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, criticized the National Security Service, saying they "should have led the people out of the building instead of keeping them locked in there."

Nonaligned Countries Seek End to Clashes in Bosnia

LD1605083592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0618 GMT 16 May 92

[Text] Nusa Dua, Bali, May 16 (TANJUG)—The conference of the Coordination Bureau of Non-aligned Countries on Saturday [16 May] urged an immediate end to hostilities and bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina and respect for the territorial integrity of this former Yugoslav republic and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The Coordination Bureau meeting at ministerial level ended on Saturday on the Indonesian island of Bali after four days of work.

The closing document adopted by delegations of 73 non-aligned countries, among other things, called on the United Nations secretary-general to deploy forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina so that peace and security could be established through a peaceful solution. Expressing deep concern over the tragic situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the non-aligned countries also expressed hope that Yugoslavia would manage to resolve its problems at the earliest possible time and continue to play an active and important role in international relations, especially in the non-aligned movement.

Text of CSCE Declaration on FRY

LD2105131292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1146 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 21 (TANJUG)—The following is the integral text of the CSCE declaration on Yugoslavia, adopted in Helsinki on May 20:

The committee of senior officials met on May 18-20, 1992 to continue its review of the situation on the territory of the former SFRY. The discussion was conducted within the framework of decisions taken in its declaration on May 12, 1992. The Committee of Senior Officials [CSO] noted with concern the further deteriorating situation in the former SFRY and the continued violation of CSCE commitments by authorities of Serbia and the JNA. It called again for the fulfilment of all provisions set forth in recent statements of the CSCE on the issue. It received with concern reports of continued fighting in the area of continued destruction and human suffering which are resulting from the conflict and which are aggravated by the continued obstruction to delivery of humanitarian assistance.

The CSO also discussed reports of the grave situation of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and the denial of fundamental freedoms to them and to Hungarian, Muslim and other minorities as well as reports that the preparations for elections on May 31, 1992, failed to provide the basis for free and fair elections and stressed the responsibility of the authorities of Belgrade for these situations.

In view of these developments the CSO decided that:

1. Urgent and immediate steps must be taken to ensure humanitarian assistance through safe and secure access under international supervision to airports in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The city of Sarajevo and its airport must be recognized by all parties to the conflict as a security zone.

2. All international efforts aimed at a lasting solution to the serious refugee problem, including the international high-level meeting convened for May 21, 1992, in Vienna and the international conference on refugees proposed by the Government of Croatia and Slovenia, are to be encouraged.

3. The CSCE office for human rights and democratic institutions shall submit by May 25 its report to the chairman in office of the council of the CSCE about the preparation of elections to the Chamber of Citizens of the new Federal Assembly in Belgrade scheduled for May 31, 1992.

4. The consultative committee of the CSCE conflict prevention center is entrusted with the dispatch of a fact-finding mission as soon as possible with a view to determining the military situation in Kosovo. All parties should cooperate with the mission. The consultative committee should submit the report of the fact-finding mission to the next meeting of the committee of senior officials.

In view of the gravity of recent developments the chairman in office will convene the next meeting of the committee of senior officials, as appropriate, no later than June 8, 1992 to review the situation in light of its decisions and take whatever action may be necessary.

Talks Held on Ecological Problems of Privatization

LD2005224692 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 19 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 19—A three-day international conference started in Warsaw on Tuesday [19 May] to discuss the system of responsibility for the condition of environment, ecological problems connected with privatization and possibilities of using experience of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries in this respect in central and Eastern Europe.

The conference was organized by Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It is attended by representatives of ministries of privatization from Eastern Europe and international organizations as well as of Western businesses and industry engaged in the privatization processes in Poland and other countries of this region.

The privatization processes initiated in Poland three years ago have encountered considerable obstacles, one of them being Poland's reputation as a most seriously polluted country in Europe. Also, no information about ecological condition of privatized enterprizes is available in Poland.

Foreign investors are most discouraged by the lack of a clear division of responsibility for an environmental damage caused by industrial enterprises, Linda Powers of the U.S. opined.

President Berisha Appeals for UN Forces in Kosovo

AU2105204092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 19 May 92

[Statement issued by Presidential Press and Information Office in Tirana on 21 May]

[Text] President Sali Berisha has sent a letter to His Excellency Butrus Butrus Gnali, secretary-general of the United Nations, which states:

Honored Mr. Secretary-General,

I have the special honor to turn to you to express my deep distress at the recent fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where the aggression of Serbia and the Yugoslav Army under Serbian command is causing many casualties and incalculable damage. Albania is following the tragic situation in the former Yugoslavia with great attention and has always expressed its support for the comprehensive efforts of the United Nations and you personally to ensure an end to the fighting as soon as possible and to create conditions to establish the peace that would enable the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, including the Albanians, to decide their destiny by their own free will and in a peaceful way.

Mr. Secretary, the Kosovar people will hold their first free and multiparty elections on 24 May. Regardless of the commotion created by Serbian chauvinist circles and the interpretations they put on these elections, they are an expression of the will and the right of the people to be governed by people that they have elected, and are doubtless a major contribution to the peaceful solution of the problems of the former Yugoslavia. Bearing in mind the escalation of violence in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the fact that troops and a great deal of military equipment have been stationed in Kosovo for the last two years and have been supplemented by Serbian and Montenegrin paramilitary units, Albania has continually drawn the attention of public opinion and international agencies to the peril posed to peace and security in the Balkans and beyond.

This danger, fraught with even greater consequences, becomes more imminent on the occasion of the first free elections in Kosovo, which could be exploited in order to extend aggression to the south. I therefore consider it necessary, Mr. Secretary-General, for you to exert your influence and recommend to the Security Council that UN observers and forces be present in Kosovo in order to forestall any possible military attack against Kosovo and the Albanians there and to observe the conduct of the elections. This would also serve the cause of security and peace to which you are personally committed.

On this occasion, Mr. Secretary-General, allow me to express the total and powerful support of the Republic of Albania for all measures and steps of the United Nations and its Security Council toward the earliest possible solution of the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful manner that will be appropriate for all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, my best regards and assurances,

Sali Berisha.

Rail Strike Suspends Grain, Fuel Transportation

AU2105195092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 21 May 92

[Vangjel Dushi report]

[Text] The drivers and other railroad workers have been on strike for four days now. What are their demands? They ask for government preference if the railroad is to be involved in economic restructuring and demand an end to its control by the Transportation Ministry. They ask for the status of railroad workers to be defined, supplying the employees of this sector with uniforms as in other countries of the world. They demand an appraisal of proper wage differentials compared with other public sectors of the economy. The state must subsidize the railroad, because train fares are included in the basket of frozen prices—otherwise train fares should be unfrozen. The state should exercise financial control with the help of trade union representatives over the business activity of the railroad enterprise, because there has been speculation with state property. All managers who have been compromised in this period must be dismissed. It must be stressed that this strike is causing very great difficulties for the economy, because the transport of grain, fuel, etc. has been suspended.

Berisha Issues Decree on Adoptions by Foreign Nationals

AU2005174492 Tirana ATA in English 0808 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 20 (ATA)—The Press Office close to the president of the Republic reports that:

On May 19, the President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha issued the decree to verify and control the legitimacy of the adoption of the Albanian children by the foreign nationals.

This decree enters into force immediately.

National Assembly Receives Bomb Threat

AU2105154192 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 21 May 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We are immediately establishing contact with our reporter Lilyana Yancheva at the National Assembly because we just heard the news that an unidentified terrorist made a phone call.

[Yancheva] I cannot tell you who called, but Stefan Savov interrupted the debates at the plenary session hall announcing that a bomb was reportedly placed there.

[Announcer] When did this happen?

[Yancheva] About 15 minutes ago. May the saints protect us and spare us the fate of Rajiv Gandhi [assassinated by a bomb on 21 May 1991]. I am calling almost secretly because they did not let us leave the National Assembly building. We managed to slip out, almost in hiding. I do not know why they would not permit us to leave the building. Let me only tell you a bit about the debates held at the National Assembly, and later we will report on the latest developments, at least we hope so, if we are alive. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Let us now hear a report by our colleague Khristo Khristov, who established contact with the Sofia City Press Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

I was briefed by Mara [name indistinct]. At 1720 [1420 GMT] a woman's voice called the Third Precinct of the Sofia City Police and repeated three times that a bomb has been placed in the National Assembly building.

All possible measures were adopted to establish where the telephone call came from. The police have the necessary equipment for doing so. Special police forces are currently investigating the National Assembly building. This is all I can tell you at present, but we are expecting further information.

[Announcer] Thank you.

Assembly Proceedings Resume

AU2105212092 Sofia BTA in English 1917 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 21 (BTA)—Today's plenary sitting of parliament was broken off by an anonymous phone call which warned that a bomb had been planted in the building.

At 5.40 p.M. National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov told the M.P.'s about the tip-off and asked them to leave the chamber. Parliament had been debating amendments to the rules of procedure for two hours before that, concentrating on the possibility to strip an M.P. from immunity. In the lobby M.P.'s and journalists commented that one particular M.P. was envisaged in the debates, namely, ex-premier Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations in Todor Zhivkov's time.

While checking the building for explosive devices, the services combating terrorism let no one in or out of the building for a short time after 5.40 p.m.

Shortly after 6 p.m., when people were already allowed to leave the building, the M.P.'s were summoned back to the chamber. There was no quorum but Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, made a statement criticizing the actions taken by the competent bodies, which, according to her, should have led the people out of the building instead of keeping them "locked in there." Nora Ananieva criticized National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov, charging that there had been similar tip-offs before but nothing of this kind had been done.

Colonel Petko Vladimirov, chief of the National Security Service, who went to parliament shortly after the tip-off, told a BTA reporter that the competent bodies will continue checking the building during the night. According to him, parliament will have a normal sitting tomorrow.

Supposedly, this was the latest instance of wasting police time, which is becoming increasingly widespread.

Albania's Sarreqi Signs Accords, Discusses Visit

AU1905111592 Sofia BTA in English 2106 GMT 18 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 18 (BTA)—The signing of a protocol on cooperation between the Foreign Ministries of Bulgaria and Albania and an intergovernmental agreement on the relaxation of visa requirements brought to a close the visit to Bulgaria by the Albanian Foreign Minister Mr. Alfred Sarreqi.

Mr. Sarreqi paid here a one-day official visit at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart, Mr. Stoyan Ganev. At a news conference the two chief diplomats expressed satisfaction with the talks they held today.

Mr. Ganev said they had considered the idea of signing a bilateral treaty of friendship and cooperation. An agreement on the avoidance of double taxation and on reciprocal protection of investments will be drafted shortly, Mr. Ganev said. He said that the sides had considered the possibility of forming a working group of economic experts to analyze the state, the opportunities and the prospects of Bulgarian-Albanian economic relations. Business contacts and cultural cooperation will be activated, the Bulgarian foreign minister said.

At the news conference the Albanian foreign minister stressed his government's concern over the crisis in former Yugoslavia and over a possible spread of bloodshed to the Albanian-populated Kosovo and Macedonia. "We proceed from the conviction that the crisis in Yugoslavia started from Kosovo and its ultimate settlement can only be secured by a fair solution to the problem of the three million Albanians living in different Yugoslav republics," Mr. Sarreqi said. Voicing concern

over the possibility of violence breaking out over the elections in Kosovo due on May 24, he stressed the need of the presence of international observers.

"The Albanian Government is willing and ready to recognize the independence of Macedonia. Along with that, however, we are concerned over the fate of the Albanian population in Macedonia which accounts for some 40 percent of the entire population of the republic," the Albanian foreign minister said. Mr. Ganev expressed satisfaction with the fact that Albania recognizes the borders of the Republic of Macedonia and opposes a revision of the existing borders. In his view, this stand increases regional stability and confirms the position of the Bulgarian Government which recognized Macedonia's independence on January 15.

Trade Unions, Employers Denounce SDS Cabinet

AU2005182292 Sofia BTA in English 1759 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 20 (BTA)—A joint declaration was approved at today's meeting of the leaderships of the two major trade union amalgamations—the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, and representatives of the employers—the Bulgarian Industrial Association, the Union for Private Economic Enterprise, the Alternative-2000 Association of Free Entrepreneurs and the Vuzrazhdane Union. The declaration was made public at a joint press conference.

The programme of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], and its socio-economic part in particular, is not implemented and one of the reasons for it is the refusal of Filip Dimitrov's cabinet to conduct a dialogue with the trade unions and the employers, it is said in the declaration. The parties which signed the declaration consider that at the moment Bulgaria needs a government which can offer a socially acceptable programme for the continuation of the democratic and economic reforms. The parties believe that without the support of the trade unions any new government would be doomed to failure.

Today the employers and the trade unions decided to hold regular consultations declaring that their meetings will be open for the new government which can join them if it willing to do so.

The National Tripartite Commission on the harmonization of interests, made up by representatives of the government, the employers and the trade unions ceased functioning in November last year when Mr. Filip Dimitrov's cabinet came to power.

Trenchev Explains Position on Cabinet Crisis

AU2105092592 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 14 May 92 p 2

[Interview with Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of Podkrepa Labor confederation, by Nora Stoycheva; place and date not given: "Democracy Cannot Be Imposed by Force"]

[Text] [Stoycheva] How will Podkrepa react to the decision of the majority in the parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] not to support Dimitur Ludzhev?

[Trenchev] We do not have a definite position on the issue of the defense minister. I think that one should by no means place support on the part of the parliament and support on the part of the voters under the same common denominator.

[Stoycheva] Why?

[Trenchev] Because you would have to be blind to ignore the fact that this country is heading in a very bad direction. The fact that certain people, including members of parliament, stubbornly refuse to face up to reality is easily understood—they have merely fallen desperately in love with their own power. I think that the SDS deputies are making a great mistake in refusing to accept reality. Thus they are strongly jeopardizing the blue [SDS], in whose name they came to power.

[Stoycheva] What about the trade unions?

[Trenchev] They preserve their right to defend the interests of their members. The issue has shifted from the real problems posed by the trade unions, to Ludzhev's resignation. This is an attempt to divert attention.

[Stoycheva] Will you oppose a new government headed by Filip Dimitrov?

[Trenchev] We have never criticized the government as a whole, but only some of its steps. We think that the economic policy conducted by the government is wrong. Furthermore, an attempt is being made to strengthen crucial ministries and totally control them. This brings me to the thought that some people entertain the idea of using force. This is unacceptable in Europe at the turn of the 21st century.

[Stoycheva] What is the source of your doubts?

[Trenchev] The government refused to conduct a dialogue with both the trade unions and other structures that disagree to a certain extent with certain decisions.

[Stoycheva] Will you advise the members of the Podkrepa parliamentary lobby how to vote when the issue of confidence in the government is posed?

[Trenchev] I would tell them to think first about their voters and second about the SDS, which came to power in the name of very humane ideas. Third, they should think about Bulgaria.

Ludzhev Accused of Intriguing Against Government

AU2105103592 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 15 May 92 p 2

[Emiliya Antova article: "Is the Defense Minister Plotting Superintrigues?"]

[Text] The latest thing that Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev offered the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] was allegedly "some kind of compromising material" against the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Mr. Sokolov, claiming that they maintained surveillance on leaders of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. This obvious tall story may amuse children, but it seems that the DPS leaders have transferred their allegiance to the Defense Minister!

According to National Assembly Deputy Verzhiniya Velcheva, National Security Service Chief Chavdar Petkov (who was recommended at one time by Dimitur Ludzhev and appointed during the Dimitur Popov administration) was engaged years ago in "observing" political leaders among the Turkish population, so that there is nothing strange in the fact that some of his officers should still be dealing with this, but on the orders of someone else, not Sokolov. According to Velcheva, the key to all these "government riddles" that have appeared recently lies precisely in the realm of the special services. The National Intelligence Service is formally under the control of the Presidency, but its top leaders are appointed on the recommendation of the Defense Minister. There is also the National Security Service (as is known, Chavdar Petkov is very close to Ludzhev!). In addition, there is military intelligence, which is already part of the Ministry of Defense. It turns out that in practice, D. Ludzhev pulls the strings of all three services! This may provide the answer to many of the questions that have been asked recently..., such as the fact that Dr. Trenchev's hatred for Ludzhev last year turned into warm friendly feelings. Informed sources claim that even in the Popov administration, Ludzhev had at his disposal certain facts and information against the good doctor. Ludzhev's dealings with the special services in the last government helped him to be selected for the post of defense minister (if you remember, parliament voted for the government "en bloc," because at the time there was a real danger of Ludzhev being dropped from the list).

The answer to the hypothesis about "that list" [list of Bulgarian intelligence officers abroad allegedly leaked to Turkey] is not difficult. How did it happen that the defense minister was the first to hear about the list? If the National Security Service had found out something, it was duty bound to report first to Minister Sokolov. The story of the leak of information to Turkey from our otherwise renowned intelligence service is more reminiscent of a tasteless detective story. However, Minister Ludzhev emotionally warned the Group of 39 of the danger of such an incident as long ago as at the meeting in Varna (to which, incidentally, he invited himself!). It is transparently clear that the aim was to fan the embers of "that list" for a few days in order to compromise SDS leaders and destabilize the government structures.

Some of the SDS deputies have begun to speak with concern about a political error on the part of the prime minister, who suddenly announced Ludzhev's removal from his post during the parliamentary vacation, and thus gave the defense minister a chance to mount his high horse and perform all kinds of dirty political quadrilles. Whether his purpose is to save his own skin or to deal a blow against the government, only time will tell.

Admiral Velkov Pleads for Integration With NATO

AU1805205492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 18 May 92

[Text] Bulgaria is interested in its Armed Forces' integration with NATO, because we do not wish to remain alone in an area as dangerous as the Balkans are today. This is what Rear Admiral Ventsislav Velkov, commander in chief of the Bulgarian Navy, declared today on board a U.S. helicopter carrier. Admiral Velkov, who is attending the Dragon Hammer 1992 NATO spring exercises in the Mediterranean, gave a news conference on board the helicopter carrier near the Cape of [name indistinct] on the Island of (?Sardinia).

He announced that Bulgaria has already invited NATO ships to visit our ports. The NATO presence is likely to exert a stabilizing effect upon the situation in the Balkans, Admiral Velkov is cited as pointing out. He is reported to have added that Bulgaria's participation in NATO maneuvers and its integration in the NATO naval rapid deployment forces in the Mediterranean would be a guarantee for a better future for our country.

The commander in chief of the Bulgarian Navy reportedly announced that Bulgaria is already conducting negotiations for the delivery of multipurpose helicopters, which are supplied to the armies of certain NATO member-countries. He is cited as pointing out that our Bulgarian helicopters made in the Soviet Union are already obsolete. Admiral Velkov also pointed out that the integration with NATO should be accompanied by deliveries of armaments similar to those owned by other European countries, regardless of Bulgaria's current financial difficulties.

Havel Airs Views on Presidency Elections

LD2105223892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] President Vaclav Havel was present at today's deliberations of the Federal Assembly Presidium. He expressed his belief that differences of opinion that had emerged between him and the parliament are forgotten. President Havel thanked members of the Presidium for their work during the past election term.

During his discussion with journalists, he said that he would not fight for the presidential chair. He explained this statement by saying that he had merely announced at the last meeting of both chambers that he would contend for the presidency, and he had briefed deputies on his program and on the values he was striving for. It depends on the new parliament whether it elects me or not, Vaclav Havel said.

In Havel's presence, the Presidium discussed organizational matters of the constituent meetings of both chambers after the elections. It follows from the deliberations of the Presidium that constituent independent sessions of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations will take place on 25 June. After these are finished, the chambers will meet for the first joint session, during which the chairman and the first deputy chairman of the parliament, as well as other functionaries of the legislative body, will be elected.

Langos Complains of Pressure From Carnogursky

LD2105183992 Prague CSTK in English 1322 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Bratislava May 20 (CSTK)—Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos today complained of unacceptable political pressure exerted on him by Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky in the case of leading Slovak politician Vladimir Meciar, accused of crimes during his six-month reign as Slovak interior minister in 1990.

Langos told CSTK that Carnogursky, who is head of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), recently pressured him to put off the initiation of criminal proceedings against Meciar until after the June 5-6 elections.

"The prosecution of anyone and everyone is in the hands of the prosecutor. Any sort of interference, any sort of slowing or speeding up of procedural law whatsoever is not good", Langos said. "Even if the majority of public opinion were in favour of initiating criminal proceedings, it's in the hands of the judiciary".

Langos is a member of the Civic Democratic Union (ODU), a Slovak political party.

Meciar has announced that if his movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) wins the elections, as it is heavily favoured to, Slovakia would first declare sovereignty, next adopt its own constitution and only then hold a referendum on Slovakia's remaining in a common state with the Czech republic.

Langos said Meciar's claim that his approach is not unconstitutional is "legal nonsense. With the adoption of a 'pure' Slovak constitution, the federal Constitution would cease to be valid on the territory of the Slovak republic".

Slovak Soldiers' Association Rejects Joining NATO

AU2105142692 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 May 92 p 3

[CSTK report: "We Are Not Up to It"]

[Text] Bratislava—Representatives of the Association of Slovak Soldiers expressed their concern at a news conference yesterday [14 May] about the CSFR being dragged by some of our politicians into "an adventure, such as joining NATO, for example." They tried to describe these ideas as unrealistic, since membership in NATO is based on combat ability and a democratic army. As Lieutenant Colonel K. Kulasik said "at the recent NATO meeting in Germany, they laughed at the possibility that the CSFR could be given a chance to become a NATO member in the next five years." According to the Association of Slovak Soldiers, the combat ability of our Army has declined considerably. Many officers are leaving the Army, the nomenklatura leadership does not have confidence, and the quality of training has dropped. The Association, as they said, is against joining any of the military pacts. It is of the opinion that no conditions for neutrality have been created, either. It is pushing for establishment of two national armies, in the Czech and in the Slovak Republic, and they said that a combat coalition between the two armies is desirable.

Trade, Cooperation Accord Signed With Georgia

LD2105200792 Prague CSTK in English 1928 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Prague May 20 (CSTK)—Czechoslovakia and Georgia signed here today an agreement on trade and on cooperation in science and technology. The two countries also signed a protocol on trade and services for this year. A Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman told CSTK the two documents create the basic conditions for developing trade relations between the two countries.

Antall Holds Talks With Swedish Foreign Minister

LD2105194292 Budapest MTI in English 1409 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 20 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on Wednesday [20 May] received Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha Af Ugglas who is paying a two-day official visit here, the government spokesman's office told MTI today.

The discussion was attended by Tamas Katona, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, and the ambassadors of the two countries.

With regard to bilateral relations, they said circumstances were favourable for intensifying cooperation in such fields as foreign and security policy, the economic sphere and cultural life.

Antall stressed Hungary ascribes great importance to the free trade agreement to be concluded with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which could boost Hungary's economic ties with the whole Scandinavian region.

Uglas pointed out that Hungarian emigrants, most of whom arrived in 1956, have become merited members of Swedish society and a bridge between the two countries.

The Hungarian prime minister and the Swedish foreign minister discussed far-reachingly the European situation, the new dangers to security and the position of the hundreds of thousands of refugees from the South Slavic republics.

Antall said the Hungarian Government holds it necessary for international organizations and Western powers to pursue a preventive policy towards all kinds of aggression.

The sides agreed that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) fulfils an important mission in this respect.

Goncz Meets Sweden's Ugglas

LD2105182792 Budapest MTI in English 1244 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 20 (MTI)—President Arpad Goncz on Wednesday [20 May] received in parliament Margaretha Af Ugglas, foreign minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, currently on an official visit to Hungary.

During the conversation, Goncz said that bilateral relations have by now gone beyond the official framework, with informal contacts gaining increasing importance.

It would be desirable to establish as many direct relations as possible between citizens and organizations. Opening the Hungarian Institute in Stockholm would serve this end, Goncz said.

Touching on international political issues, the Hungarian head of state highlighted minority problems, asking for continued Swedish support for the settlement of the minority question in internaitonal forums. Hungary would like to see international agreements concluded concerning the minorities.

The Swedish foreign minister was of the opinion that the regulatory system regarding the minorities position would have to be set up within the Council of Europe. She also attached great importance to the Helsinki process in the field of minority protection.

State Secretary Discusses Relations With Romania

LD2105215292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1050 GMT 20 May 92

[Excerpts] Hungarian-Romanian foreign affairs discussions were held in Budapest early this week. The two countries' relations, which are not free from problems, are improving a little bit. This is what can be garnered from the statements of the two state secretaries. [passage omitted] Tamas Katona, Hungarian state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke to reporter Hajnal Mate:

[Begin recording] [Katona] The discussions connected with the basic treaty are in progress and are proceeding well. We have to clarify two points that are connected. We have to find a solution that is reassuring for both sides on the border issue and regarding minorities. If we can find such a solution, then the remaining discussions on the basic treaty will not be difficult.

Our first task was to begin to settle a huge number of tiny practical points. Romanian State Secretary Melescanu sent us a proposal along these lines. Every single issue is a practical point that is possible to resolve. One is a new border crossing, especially if it leads to a territory in Hungary where there is a Romanian majority, such as in Mehkerek, or Battonya, where there is a Romanian minority. These are all confidence-building steps. We need this confidence-building to an extraordinary degree. Just think what it will be like when one day we get to the end of this long list of grievances. Then it will be possible for an agreement to come into being such as that which came into being between France and Germany after World War II.

The handling of minorities is not merely a bilateral issue between Romania and Hungary. If only in the interest of European security, we have to find a European form of handling the armed struggle and the nationality conflicts that have regrettably arisen in the territory of the south Slav republics. We do have bilateral tasks here, and I hope that we will make progress in this area as well.

At the same time, there are some issues that can really only be resolved on the international, multilateral level. I feel that in Europe, precisely as the Yugoslav tragedy

makes itself felt, the conviction is becoming ever stronger that something has to be done so that this unsettled issue does not remain a permanent wound on the body of Europe. If we think how many million Russians joined minority ranks in the immediate past, then we see that it is not merely a Hungarian-Romanian bilateral issue. We would like to do everything possible to guarantee the rights of minorities of various sizes.

[Mate] When will the concrete formulation of the basic treaty take place?

[Katona] Practically 80 percent or so, if not more, of this basic treaty is ready. This is an issue we have to think very seriously about to see how these two problem spheres—the issue of guaranteeing borders and of nationality guarantees—keep each other in balance. At the session of the CSCE ministeral council, the foreign minister in Prague clearly stated that he feels that these two issues can be jointly settled.

I think it is not the points of the basic treaty that are exciting. What can such a basic treaty achieve? A basic treaty is a declaration of intent. We now have to do more than what is in the basic treaty. We have to take practical steps that are indispensable. For example, we must create forint-lei convertibility, otherwise there will be no tourism; we must conclude an investment protection agreement between the two countries; we must conclude an agreement between the two countries to avoid double taxation, because there is no trade without it; we must see whether there is a need or a possibility along the borders for a free trade or duty free zone in accordance with GATT regulations.

There are a great number of practical questions. We have at least 60 problems of this kind. We are going through these and trying to see what we can agree on during our upcoming talks. Obviously this will be just a fraction of the total number of existing issues that will be summed up in a protocol.

Therefore, I feel that now, regardless of what stage has been reached in the basic treaty, we must go way beyond the basic treaty. We will have to regulate issues with bilateral agreements which mean much more than a declaration of intent that remains superficial no matter how essential the issues it concerns. We are now thinking along concrete lines.

[Mate] Did you discuss emigration and refugee affairs?

[Katona] No, not for the time being. We spoke about border crossing posts, about these agreements that are still lacking, and about issues of trade and border trade. Here, too, we raised certain issues such as the matters of the chief consulate and foreign trade missions. Just as in the preparation of the Hungarian minority bill we conferred on every point with the Federation of Romanians in Hungary, in the same way we have received a request from the other side that we take their opinions into consideration in the minority agreement. We are willing to do this.

I think that this is the way the world is moving, away from the direction of 19th century nationalism. Hopefully, if not now then in the second round, we will be able to say something reassuring in this area as well.

Once again, all I can say is that it is in both countries' interests. I stress very hard the word interests. When political fronts and prejudices are very rigid, the only thing with which we can move is European policy in the broad sense. Participation in this, the avoidance of isolation, is in the elementary interests of both countries. The other thing is the economy. By way of its own interests the economy is able to link these countries in cooperation. As we know very well and have said clearly a million times, Hungary is not interested in changing the borders but in the disappearance of these borders. We would like once and for all to say to Romania that our friendship knows no borders. [end recording]

Foreign Minister on Cooperation With CSFR, Poland

AU1805111592 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 14 May 92 p 5

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Istvan Leko; place and date not given: "Coordination Instead of Dialogue"]

[Text] The "Visegrad Three" foreign ministers met with their counterparts from Great Britain, Holland, and Portugal last week. Mr. Andriessen, too, was present at the meeting. He is said to be the EC Foreign Minister.

[Leko] Why do you believe that this meeting was important?

[Jeszenszky] The 3 + 3 + 1 meeting in Prague is a part of the process that began with the signing of the association treaties in December last year. Apart from economic cooperation, the concept of political cooperation plays an important role in this document. Political cooperation actually began in Prague last week. After the Maastricht meeting, the EC took important steps leading to intensification of foreign-and-political cooperation within this group, and the Visegrad countries joined this decisionmaking process. Of course, I do not think that we should participate in all the meetings of EC ministers. First, we are not permanent EC members yet. Second, the most frequent subject of these meeting are economic problems in which we cannot interfere. The Visegrad Three are concerned with replacing the dialogue by coordination during political decisionmaking. Two stages are behind us: We have become well-acquainted with the EC countries, and we trust each other. The following two facts were stressed by our partners: we have a similar thinking and they consider us representatives of pluralist democracies.

The Visegrad Three would welcome it if the EC paid greater attention during their decisionmaking to our opinions on what is happening in Eastern Europe, since our knowledge and analyses are based on 40 years of

experience with communism. On many occasions I have become convinced that such cooperation at bilateral meetings is important. For instance, Hungarian analyses regarding the Yugoslav conflict and suggestions for its solution have proved correct, unfortunately. I believe that today a number of politicians have come to the conclusion that if certain measures had been taken, the situation in former Yugoslavia would have developed quite differently.

[Leko] Rightist conservatives—who may become a dominant component in the future Czech Government cabinet after the June elections—raised voices questioning the importance of the Visegrad Three, mostly because of economic reasons. Do you share their doubts?

[Jeszenszky] Of course, in every society there are differences of opinion and during the election campaign we can expect to see all sorts of things. I think that in most cases the reality will force the people to revise their opinions. I think that it would be unnatural if the countries of the former East bloc traded exclusively among themselves or with the West only. Europe will become economically unified only after the economic integration of the neighboring countries and regions becomes as close as possible. This does not mean that we would want to continue providing a market for low-quality products. It is important for us to be able to find, along the top-quality Western products, also lower-quality, but more affordable goods on our markets. People and their wallets will decide.

On the other hand, we must realize that we are talking about multilateral diplomacy—and not only about mutual relations between the three countries. We are also judged according to how far we have progressed on our way to Europe. The principal issue in discussions between our three countries and the EC is the assistance to the former Soviet Union. It would be good if Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—who were damaged in every respect by Soviet policy in the past—were not damaged, once again, by the form of EC assistance provided to the former Soviet Union.

Cooperation involving three parties is attractive: a number of East European countries would like to join our Three. Today, however, there are objective reasons that they cannot join us. The past, the present, and the future of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary are much more similar to one another than those of other countries of the former East bloc. Theses three countries would be able to stand the test in the eyes of Europe, as far democratic institutions are concerned.

[Leko] How much was the Slovak separatist endeavor visible at the Prague meeting? Are we still speaking about the Three?

[Jeszenszky] In this case we adopted the wait-and-see attitude. The participation of the Czech and the Slovak sides in Visegrad cooperation means to us that both nations are interested in it. No matter what happens after the June elections, or in the near future, Hungary considers cooperation in the region to which Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia belong, as the most important.

[Leko] The Visegrad Three have been cited as an example of cooperation between postcommunist countries. However, we must not forget that bilateral relations are not the best ones at present. I have in mind the state treaty between Hungary and the CSFR. Representatives of both countries have been unable to sign it for a year. What is the reason for that?

[Jeszenszky] Above all, it is a question of the dam on the Danube. We know that the Slovak Government's stance differs from that of the Federal Government. The Slovak Government is of the opinion that as long as they cannot reach an agreement on the Gabcikovo dam issue, (which means that the Hungarian Government should accept the Slovak standpoint) there is no sense in signing the state treaty. If someone is prepared to sign a treaty and the other side is not willing to sign it, even if it could, then it is clear that the right of veto has been enforced. In this case, one side apparently believes that after the elections, the situation will become more clear, and it does not want to assume the responsibility for what the new government's opinion on this treaty might be. The Hungarian side has adopted a wait-and-see attitude. We cannot interfere, even if we wanted.

[Leko] During the Prague summit, Jan Carnogursky had a meeting with Mr. Andriessen in the Cerninsky Palace on the establishment of a tripartite EC commission on Gabcikovo. According to the Slovak prime minister, Hungary and the CSFR have different opinions on the establishment of the tripartite commission....

[Jeszenszky] Hungary does not interpret any of the EC conditions. We accepted each of them immediately and unconditionally. The Slovak side apparently has reasons to interpret the EC conditions on the establishment of the Gabcikovo commission in its own way. I am saying this irrespective of the fact that both Czechoslovakia and Hungary have agreed in principle to the establishment of an independent experts commission. The fact that the EC sets out conditions that are not accepted by one of the parties involved, does not represent an insoluble problem.

I discussed the Gabcikovo problem with Mr. Andriessen only briefly. Hungary would welcome the soonest establishment of the tripartite commission. However, it is equally important that the EC conditions be met. The question remains, however, how much the differing interpretations can meet the EC conditions. This must be judged in Brussels.

Despite this, I believe that bilateral disputes should not be on the agenda of the Visegrad Three meeting. We must realize that if there are serious disputes between our countries, then we must say which problems are more important. Cooperation between the Three countries and their acceptance to the EC are much more important, in my opinion, than a power station on the Danube. Within Western countries's organizations, too,

there are serious disputes, yet they appear as trifles on the European scale. The Gabcikovo dam project is not a trifle—it is a pan-European issue—but the thing is that higher goals should not be jeopardized by this dispute.

I discussed the dam project on the Danube with Mr. Jan Carnogursky and I explained my position to him: The Hungarian side has always stressed that the conflict is not of national character—it is not a Hungarian-Slovak problem. I am convinced that the fact that Hungary does not want to complete the dam nor operate it means that it also protects the interests of Slovakia. It protects the reserves of drinkable water in Slovakia, the Slovak environment, and, last but not least, the Slovak budget, as well. Enormous financial means have been spent on the project, and completion work would cost additional billions. Moreover, it would be necessary to build several ecological facilities in order to put the dam into operation. I recall that when the project was discussed under the former regime, communist functionaries stressed that it would be impossible to put this power station into operation without them. Today, no one speaks about the construction of ecological facilities. I am sure that the costs for their completion would be high.

We must solve the Gabcikovo problem and I think that mutual link between Hungarians and Slovaks, and friendly relationship between Czechs and Hungarians—which has a long tradition (for example my forefather Akon Jesenin was executed in Prague in 1621), will help find a way out of this no-win situation. This aspects are more important than the water dam issue. From the historical point of view, we must not allow this trifling dispute to lead to a permanent deterioration in our relations.

Goncz Addresses International Press Institute

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[Text] Budapest, May 20 (MTI)—Addressing the closing session of the 41st General Assembly of the International Press Institute (IPI) in Budapest on Wednesday [20 May], Hungarian President Arpad Goncz spoke about the situation of the Hungarian press.

He said that the press, which used to be directed "manually" by the party state, made an important contribution to the change in regime by getting rid of party control as soon as it was possible.

At present, anyone can found a paper in Hungary, irrespective of his party affiliation or ideological stance. The only limitation stems from the Constitution: in Hungary, like any other lawfully governed state, there is no room for the publication of extreme ideas, right and left-wing alike.

The president spoke about media responsibility and its ability to resist the big temptation of imposing any idea on the reader, the listener, or the viewer. Over the past two years, property relations of the Hungarian press have changed essentially and most papers have been privatized. The profit-oriented foreign owners are laying emphasis on technological development and do not intervene in editing. By contrast, the Hungarians involved in privatization have made some covert attempts at asserting party policy interests.

In the case of the national media—the Hungarian Radio, the Hungarian Television and the Hungarian News Agency MTI—one cannot agree with any endeavour at privatization or monopoly control.

The national media—as its name indicates—is a public institution which should stand beyond party and group interests.

Quoting the bill put forward to parliament, Goncz said that the media should provide regular, comprehensive, objective and unbiased information on events of public interest in Hungary and abroad. In addition, it should give facts and disputed issues, and guarantee that the various views—including those of minorities—are published.

The national character of the media should be preserved and even strengthened, Goncz said. Debate about the radio and television perhaps emerged just because interpreting the media's national character may give room for misunderstanding.

The difficulty of defining the national media is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the media law has been on the parliamentary agenda for two years and still has not been accepted, Goncz said.

Skubiszewski Addresses Sejm on EC Association

LD2105101792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0732 GMT 21 May 92

[Address by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at the 15th Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, may it please the house: I present to the house the European treaty establishing the association between the Republic of Poland and the EC and its constituent members, signed in Brussels on 16 December 1991. The government moves for the Sejm to approve the ratification of the treaty by the president of the Republic of Poland.

The treaty will define Poland's place within Europe and the world for many years to come. I am quick to call this agreement historic for nothing equals it in our state's history. We reflect on great events in our history, but every one of them is of a different nature than the one we are experiencing today. We tend to focus on economic matters when debating our links with the Community. Let's keep in mind that the nature of these links is political, the sphere of our broadly understood security. Links with the Community today and membership tomorrow will be a decisive factor in stabilizing our security. The Community has always been a political undertaking. Our association and moves toward membership maintain a political character. Similar to Greece, Spain, and Portugal, our point is to remove once and for all the spectre of totalitarianism and to ensure democracy's future in our country.

Apart from the United States, it is the bulwark of world democracy today thanks to the treaties on which the Community is built and to Community practices. On the other hand, the point is to ensure a safe place for our country in Europe. This goal is more important to us than to countries that are Community members today. During the last two centuries, Poland was threatened not just with regard to its borders and independence; the nation's very existence was threatened. Like other member countries, the Community will guarantee our social and economic development, as well as the maintenance and prosperity of our national existence.

The Community came into being shortly after World War II. Great Europeans caught the essence of the situation and directed the nations to a new path. The Community's creators understood that overcoming the war's catastrophic effects required laying emphasis on what united and not on what divided. They understood that the European conflict was like the king of civil wars. They understood that Europe was a community of civilization, history, and fate. They aimed to unite the European nations' forces and capabilities and to secure for them a proper existence in the world, dominated then by the superpowers. The Community has been and remains a limited union of medium-sized and small states. It was not and cannot be open to the superpowers of today and tomorrow as it would undermine its identity. By the end of the 20th century, the Community has been the best answer to the future's challenges. Medium-sized and small nations—in the sense of territory, population, national resources, and military force—are unable to face alone the political, economic, social, and environmental threats on the horizon of the 21st century. If this is the conviction of France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and other states for which the result was far kinder, then what can be said about Poland, devastated by the war, experiencing changes of her borders, and living under communist dictatorship and Soviet domination for 45 years? The Community is a voluntary association. No individual state rules supreme. The Community is a dynamic organization, which evolves from simple forms of unity—such as the tariff union or the common market—to more developed forms—such as the political union. Association with the Community will offer our country the chance to participate in the evolution of the world's political and international future in accordance with our traditions and capabilities. Our planet was fragmented in the second half of the 20th century, creating a soil for chaos, conflicts, and thriftlessness. This fragmentation was resisted by a trend of a voluntary unification of states and nations in associations to secure peace, solidarity, and progress. The trend manifested itself in our part of the world, first in the form of the Council of Europe, next the European Community of Coal and Steel, and later the EEC and the European Community of Nuclear Energy.

These three communities have now, de facto, transformed into one European Community which aims at authentic economic and political union based on the principles of subsidiarism [subsydjarnosc] and decentralization. This process has become a catalyst for similar evolution in other parts in the world: Latin America, Southeast Asia, the Arab civilization, and Africa. The main form of international relations in the 21st century will be dialogue and cooperation among large economic and political communities built on the foundations of civilizational unity. Apart from these groups, there will be state-continents, such as the United States, Russia, the PRC, and India. Such states need not participate in any community to ensure their future and prosperity. Christianity was an inseparable element of the national existence in Poland 10 centuries ago and recently. The EC with which we wish to associate ourselves today and which we want to join tomorrow is an achievement of Christian statesmen with vision, such as Robert Schuman, [name indistinct], and Konrad Adenauer. European unity and European institutions were constructed after World War II with the support and encouragement of the great popes, including the support and encouragement of John Paul II. In supporting moves toward European unification, the Holy See over the two millenia has remained faithful to its ideas and efforts concerned with European unification into one community spiritually, culturally, and politically.

Mr. Speaker, may it please the house: We must examine the treaty debated today through the perspective created

by the above-mentioned historic and political factors. The treaty is correctly known as European. It regulates the full spectrum of relations between the Republic of Poland and the EC and establishes the institution of parliamentary, governmental, and judicial cooperation. The association is a stage that is essential for adaptive reasons in Poland's efforts to join the Community. This period, known as the transitional period, has been given 10 years. The treaty's preamble stresses the differences in the social and economic development level of the sides and the need to overcome them as soon as possible. This means adopting the asymmetry principle—that is, a more favorable treatment of Poland throughout the transition period.

The treaty also recognizes that we aim for Community membership and that the association will help achieve this aim.

Community membership prospects should prompt us to implement political and economic reforms more consistently. Implementing the treaty, particularly when it comes to the necessary harmonization of our legislation with Community law, will ensure the stability and projection of Poland's economic development. This projection proves invaluable when it comes to encouraging Polish and foreign investment to accelerate Poland's economic development. In other words, implementing the treaty and adapting our system to EC requirements will have a direct impact on accelerating our state's economic development.

May it please the house: The analysis of benefits and obligations arising from the treaty has been included in a justification of the motion for ratifying the treaty, which was submitted to the Sejm. While discussing the provisions of the treaty, I will focus on most important matters. The European treaty has a direct impact on improving Poland's geopolitical situation. It consolidates the European orientation of our foreign policy initiated in 1989, it gives institutional character to our links with the EC, and it guarantees advancing integration with Europe. The treaty envisages establishing a permanent political dialogue. It provides for consultations between the chairman of the Council of Europe and the chairman of the Commission of Communities with the president of the Polish Republic. Dialogue at government level will be conducted within the framework of newly established institutions, the Council of the Association, and the Committee of the Association. Talks at parliamentary level will be held within the framework of the Parliamentary Committee of the Association. Permanent frameworks for political dialogue between Poland and the EC are of particular importance, especially now when there is a lot of uncertainty on our continent.

May it please the house: Before I discuss the treaty's trade provisions, I would like to explain the role and significance of a transitional agreement. The agreement covers the trade portion of the European treaty. The transitional agreement has been in force since 1 March. Therefore, the trade portion of the treaty under the name of the transitional agreement came into force on 1 March. Since then, a timetable for changes of principles and rules of trade exchange between Poland and the EC has been in force. Quicker implementation of rules concerning trade enables Poland to profit from earlier and liberalized access to the Community market. However, if any party rejects the association treaty, the transitional agreement will expire on 31 December. The CSFR and Hungary have adopted similar solutions.

The temporary introduction of international negotiable trade and customs agreements is based on Polish constitutional law. Polish interest in this case is clear: The transitional agreement should be binding immediately. This occurred following the cooperation of the Council of Ministers with the president of the Republic of Poland. The Sejm can pronounce the trade portion of the European treaty, the part which, as I have pointed out, is the subject of the transitional agreement.

Therefore, I will start with the trade decisions.

First, a few words about industrial products: The treaty envisages the gradual yearly reduction of customs duties on industrial goods, right up to their total elimination within five years. Considering the duty-free quotas for the so-called sensitive goods opened on 1 March, about 70 percent of Polish industrial goods will be exported without duty. On the other hand, Poland abolished customs duties on industrial goods constituting about 27 percent of the EC imports once the trade portion of the treaty became valid. The next reduction will take place on 1 January 1995. This will be the first of five equal reductions which up to 1999 will totally eliminate (?the duty) on EC imports. Therefore, I want to point out the asymmetric benefits to Poland of eliminating customs duty.

The EC abolished the restrictions on numbers when the transitional agreement became valid, with the exception of quotas for textiles and coal to two states. Specifically, quotas on textiles and clothing will be abolished beginning 1 January 1993 throughout the period, amounting to half the period established in GATT's Uruguay round. It will be no less than five years. The quotas for coal apply to two states, as I said—Germany and Spain—and will be abolished within four years.

Poland will abolish the limits on numbers gradually within five years. I reemphasize the bias of concessions in our favor.

I now move to agricultural produce: The EC has lowered the customs protection—that is, various import taxes—for the three categories of products exported by Poland, namely goods that are subject to duty and other payments by lowering their level by 20 percent for three years, goods that are subject to duty only by consolidation of the hitherto preferences within the framework of the general system of preferences or by lowering of duty, and goods that are subject to the minimum prices

mechanisms by the greater flexibility of these mechanisms. The quotas will grow by 10 percent a year for five years. On the other hand, Poland lowered duties on agricultural imports constituting 18 percent of EC imports once the transitional agreeement became valid. The reduction amounts to 10 percent. The EC abolished the limits on numbers when the trade portion of the treaty became law. The Council of the Association will regularly examine the possibilities for liberalizing agricultural trade further.

The decisions in the trade portion of the treaty increase export possibilities and improve the competitiveness of Polish industrial and agricultural goods on the EC markets. Thanks to the principle of asymmetry, trade concessions for the EC are much smaller and do not pose immediate threats to Polish production. The time span defined in the treaty for totally abolishing the duty will stimulate the Polish economy's adaptation to EC requirements, which is essential for Poland to join the Community in the future. It should also be stressed that the treaty contains protective clauses and mechanisms, which make it possible for the sides to counteract the disturbances resulting from the trade liberalization it introduces. These protective clauses and mechanisms are of great significance to us.

May it please the house: Apart from trade matters, the treaty regulates other spheres of economic relations between Poland and the Community. A free flow of capital will be ensured. The agreement on establishing enterprises is also important. When the treaty is introduced, Community members pledge to remove all regulations limiting the freedom of Polish citizens to establish enterprises on their territory.

Poland will introduce similar facilities for Community citizens before the end of the transitional period—that is, within a ten-year period. When difficulties with restructuring occur, Poland can undertake steps departing from the obligation in some cases. Regarding welfare issues, the parties to the treaty have been given the guarantee that employees working legally on other party's territory will be treated as well as local citizens. The spouse or child of a legally employed person who is granted leave for permanent residence can obtain a labor permit as well. To coordinate the social welfare system, both parties agree to recognize a period of legal employment on the other party's territory for calculating and paying social benefits. Community members will consider the possibility of facilitating Polish citizens' access to the labor market. To help Poland achieve the treaty's goals, the EC will secure financial assistance in the form of loans from the European Investment Bank and grants within the framework of the (?FAAR) program until the end of 1990 [as heard]. After this date, assistance will be within the framework of a long- term program of assistance to be agreed with Poland. Financial assistance is also expected to stabilize and maintain the zloty's convertibility and to support an economic restructuring program, including support for the balance of payments. The treaty encompasses sufficient financial provisions despite the lack of a separate financial protocol. Even more important is the fact that there is an opportunity for a considerable transfer of funds from the EC to Poland based on annual decisions made after consultations. We will avail ourselves of this opportunity.

May it please the house: If the association treaty is adopted, Poland will face the task of gradually adapting the Polish economic and legal system to EC requirements. The task involves changing customs law; company law; banking law; accountancy; tax law; regulations on protecting intellectual property, employees, human life and health, and fauna and flora; and regulations on an indirect system of taxation, principles of competition, technological norms, transportation, natural environment, and other domains. Cooperation will be aimed specifically at reducing standardization and certification differences. Harmonizing the legislation and its pace will play a fundamental role in preparing Poland for EC membership.

Association with the EC will help eliminate differences in the level of economic development and standards of living between us and that part of the West. The treaty lays down principles for economic cooperation in industry, investment, agriculture, education and science, power industry, transportation, environmental protection, telecommunications, finances and foreign exchange policy, regional development, welfare matters, customs duties, statistics, and private sector development. The treaty also defines the principles for cooperation on culture, tourism, and the mass media.

The treaty regulates contacts in such specialized fields as combatting drug addiction or laundering illegal money. The treaty's realization will cause the Polish economy to merge gradually with the EC economies. Poland will receive four basic freedoms adopted by the 12 states: the free flow of goods, people, services, and capital. By liberalizing the transfer of the means of production, our state's economy will be included in the European division of labor and will have a unique chance to take advantage of all the benefits, particularly specialization possibilities, in a market which encompasses nearly 400,000,000 consumers.

I would like to add that we must remember that in the second part of the transitional period—that is, after five years—Poland will also have to liberalize access to its market. This is why the benefits to Poland in the first stage of the treaty should be used to the best advantage.

May it please the house: The Foreign Ministry launched in the autumn of 1989 the initiative to associate Poland with the EC. We acted in the conviction that it was essential to strengthen Poland's new political system within Europe and to ensure European assistance in Poland's democratization and economic transformation processes. The situation in Poland today makes this conviction topical. Ratifying the European treaty will confirm to Europe and the world the irreversibility of

our political and economic reforms and will guarantee permanent departure from the totalitarian system in Poland.

This is significant now, when Poland is seen in various ways by the world. Of course, this is a fundamental and long-term issue and is not dependent on this or other propaganda trend. Regarding the political dimension of (?these actions), it will find its fullest expression in Poland's future membership within the EC. Ratification of the treaty on association is the essential stage on the road to this goal.

Poland will then formally request that negotiations begin on our state's entry into the EC. Ratifying the treaty means that we will begin to adapt our economy to European demands and to introduce the free flow of goods, services, capital, and people. Taking future membership as the goal of our policy, the task of adaptation is all the more inevitable. The quicker all treaty provisions are brought into force, the quicker Poland can count on entering the Community.

May it please the house: It is sometimes said that Poland would lose her sovereignty by linking herself with the Community, but this is based on misunderstanding.

First, association with and subsequent membership of the EC limits the exercise of sovereignty but not sovereignty itself, as the essence of our state. Every international treaty, every membership of an international organization, results in a limitation of the state's freedom of action. This is a voluntarily accepted limitation.

Second, let us remember the progressive political and economic interdependence of the contemporary world. There is no state today that can afford economic self-sufficiency without detriment to economic advance. A state which, like Poland, was subjected for almost 150 years to the action of harmful, faulty, or ineffective economic mechanisms should be especially interested in linking herself with partners who are, for the most part, highly developed and in taking advantage of their experience and help. Examples of associate states that went on to join the EC show that both association and membership contributed, regardless of the many costs, to a considerable acceleration of those states' economic development. This is our idea.

(?In the) Community, alongside actions taken by governments and the Brussels and Strasbourg institutions, a spontaneous, human integration is taking place. Suspicion, hostility, and dogmatic exaggeration are giving way to sympathy, [word indistinct], and friendly tolerance. These integration processes, both those undertaken by government and Community institutions and those that are spontaneous, do not threaten the specific national and cultural characteristics of the members. What is happening before our eyes is the creation of a political and economic union, which is not a threat but a shield—I repeat, a shield—for the specific national and cultural characteristics of the members.

It should also be stressed that the European lineup lays down the framework and limits of cooperation between Poland and the Community. Detailed executive decisions will be made in the forum of the Council of the Association, where unanimity is obligatory. There is no fear that the Council will impose any solutions on Poland against our interests and against our will. I add that there are safeguarding clauses in the treaty, which include halting implementation of individual regulations insofar as this could threaten to destabilize our economy.

May it please the house: The idea of Poland's participation in building European unity, of our (?joint) participation in the [word indistinct] of the unity which is the Community, has for a long time stimulated many Poles, (?even when) the chances were practically nil, even in the dark days of Stalinism and later, when there was practically no hope [word indistinct]. I would like to recognize the great preparatory work carried out in this regard, systematically and with determination, for years [word indistinct] by Polish Ambassador to France Jerzy Lukaszewski. Through his great campaign on both continents, he drew our partners' attention and familiarized us with the policy we can pursue today. It is hard to (?deny) the value and dimension of this activity, which is bearing fruit today.

Negotiating the treaty was an immense job in every respect, requiring the highest qualifications. I think we should all recognize Dr. Jaroslaw Mulewicz, the head of the Polish delegation, and Andrzej Olechowski, the main participant in the talks on key economic material, former secretary of state in the Foreign Economic Cooperation Ministry, and my colleague in government today.

The tireless efforts of Professor Jerzy Makarczyk, secretary of state in the Foreign Ministry—particularly his talks with EC Commission President Jacques Delors—were very important. I also recognize the work of Under Secretary of State Jacek Dariusz-Wolski and his valuable effort—which I trust was not in vain—in gathering a team of people prepared for the work awaiting us in our real integration with the West. All other participants in the talks deserve recognition, particularly Ambassador Kulakowski in Brussels. There is no way of mentioning them all here. They did a good job.

May it please the house: In conclusion, I would like to clarify that there is no possibility of renegotiating the treaty since it is thought within the EC and the West in general that the European treaties with Poland, the CSFR, and Hungary are similar in content and are advantageous for these states. The Polish Government shares this view. The lengthening line of those willing to join the Community or wishing to enter into agreements on association and cooperation will make it impossible, for a long time, to undertake any kind of possible new negotiations on the treaty. The treaty also gives us the trump card of being based on joint interests of Poland, the CSFR, and Hungary. So far, these states appeared jointly in their relations with the EC. I think that this will continue in the future. These states moving jointly

toward EC membership could be yet another manifestation of this kind of solidarity soon. This will not be a hasty act since the time takes to prepare EC negotiation instructions—in Spain's case, this lasted eight years—and ratification requirements means that about 10 years may pass from application to acceptance.

The benefits of association and of possible future membership for Poland are a historic chance. Acting from similar motives, the Community's members were able to subordinate their individual interests to the common goal, which will shortly bear fruit in the new shape of integration, namely the political and economic-monetary union. The Maastricht Treaty proves that the understanding of long-term joint interests has won in Europe and that the unified European states are one of the world powers and that only together can they cope with the challenges of the 21st century. By entering this new European family—association being the first step—we ensure a stable and profitable future for Poland despite its costs. The many years of benefits will exceed the costs. The compromise which has been reached is good for Poland, for the Community, and for all of Europe.

Mr. Speaker, members of the house: On behalf of the government, I move for the approval to ratify the European treaty establishing the association between the Republic of Poland and the EC and its members.

Parliaments Urged To Stop Aggression in Moldova

AU2105112192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 21 May 92

[Statement by the Romanian Parliament on 14th Army military "aggression" in Moldova issued on 21 May in Bucharest]

[Text] This morning in separate meetings, the Senate and Assembly of deputies unanimously endorsed the following statement:

Taking note of the military and warlike actions carried out during the night of 19 May 1992 on the eastern territory of the Republic of Moldova by units of the 14th Army belonging to the former Soviet Army, Romania's Parliament expresses profound concern and indignation at this brutal and intolerable violation of the sovereignty and independence of a state recognized by the international community and a member of the United Nations.

With regret, we note that this Army behaves like a genuine foreign occupation force on the territory of a sovereign and independent state and that it disregards the freely expressed will for independence and national rebirth of the Romanians in Bessarabia, while its commanders declare their inability to control the units in their jurisdiction. The latter is actually on a par with stimulating the aggressive actions of their military units and the separatist extremists in the so-called Dniester Republic. Romania's Parliament believes that the aggression by units of the 14th Army of the Russian Federation, which have entered the eastern part of the Republic of Moldova, constitutes a flagrant violation of the norms and principles of international law, of the accords concluded between the Republic of Moldova and the other states of the CIS member countries, and a violation of the Helsinki declarations.

Emphasizing that all these principles have been recognized by the Russian Federation and that the aforesaid accords have also been signed by representatives of this country, Romania's Parliament, expressing profound concern over the destiny of our brothers on the other side of the Prut River, calls on the Parliament of the Russian Federation to adopt an attitude matching the recognized norms of international law and the observance of sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent states, which have emerged on the ruins of the former Soviet Union. And it demands the immediate cessation of the aggressive actions of the 14th Army units, their immediate return to their barracks, and the speeding up of the application of accords signed with the legitimate authorities of the Republic of Moldova in connection with the withdrawal of this Army from its territory.

It also calls on the parliaments that are close to the Republic of Moldova from a geographical point of view to express their attitude of disapproval toward the escalation of the conflict on the left bank of the Dniester River, as well as on all parliaments throughout the world to examine the situation that has been created in the Eastern area of the Republic of Moldova, the dangers this situation poses for political stability in this area of Europe and for the democratization and reform process in the former Soviet geopolitical area, and to raise their voice in accordance with the principles of international law for the defense of the Republic of Moldova, and the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of this country.

Romania's Parliament asks the Romanian Government to carefully follow the development of the situation in Moldova, to take all necessary measures to assist this country, and to take the necessary steps at the international level in order to halt the aggressive military operations to which this country is currently subjected.

Press Condemns 14th Army 'Aggression'

AU2105112492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0936 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/5/1992—Bucharest dailies pay particular attention to the aggression the 14-th Army, subordinated to Moscow, started on May 19, in the eastern part of the Republic of Moldova. The comments in REALITATEA ROMANEASCA are titled "A Wound Is Bleeding on the Other Bank of the Prut." "What is going on on the left bank of the Dniester is a shame for Yeltsin's Russia, a shame for Europe, a shame for the whole civilized world. The agonizing Soviet imperialism shows its teeth and bit the body of the Moldovan state."

Under the headline "Moldova Is Attacked by Russia's Army," the daily COTIDIANUL writes that "the 14-th Army has completely abandoned the neutrality he boasted so much with and got involved in the conflict."

"The conditions in the Republic of Moldova and particularly the support the 14-th Army previously gave to the self-styled Dniester Republic make us think it is out of question that the Army could have acted disobeying its direct chiefs and without Moscow's accord, be it tacit, says AZI, adding "maybe the authorities with imperialist nostalgia in the Russian capital wanted to frighten those who conducted summit Romanian-Romanian talks at Chisinau, afraid they might not observe the limit accepted by Moscow in the Romanian-Moldovan relations."

TINERETUL LIBER sees in the aggression in Moldova "an extremely dangerous precedent for the security of the other former Soviet Republics, where militaries of the federation Army are still stationed."

ROMANIA LIBERA publishes the point of view of its board of administration under the title "guilty silence." It writes: We shouldn't have been so late in asserting our legitimate national rights in all world bodies. The delay is now paid with the innocent blood of our brothers, aggressed once again by the Russian barbars. We firmly ask the Romanian Presidency, Parliament, Government

to take the burden of an undeserved guilt off the Romanian people". "The fact that Russia affords to make troops attack Bessarabia proves, once again, if necessary, the disdain of the leaders in Moscow towards the international community. Romania, irrespective of what happens in its parliament, is obliged to be at attention. It can't afford the luxury to be coward," writes VIITORUL ROMANESC in a comment titled "The Russians Lose the Peace."

Romanian-Moldovan Relations Reviewed

AU1805160092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1358 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/5/1992—Ion Iliescu's current visit to Chisinau is his second to the Republic of Moldova (he paid his first visit on January 25, 1992, when he travelled to Ungheni, where he conducted talks with President Mircea Snegur). So far, the president of the Republic of Moldova came to Romania four times—over February 11-16, 1991, on June 19, 1991, on March 21, 1992 and on April 12, 1992 (the last to Suceava to attend the celebrations marking 535 years since ruler Stephen the Great acceded to the throne). Mircea Snegur also stopped over in Bucharest twice—on February 9 and March 3, 1992. As for the problem of Bessarabia's union with Romania, President Ion Iliescu opines that from a historical point to view that act "is inevitable". Mr. Snegur told ASSOCIATED PRESS on January 28, 1992, that the reunification with Romania "might take place after a very long period," in consideration of the fact that Bessarabia won its independence after centuries of foreign rule. Mr. Snegur called on unionists on both banks of the Prut to halt their "propaganda... which attempts at artificially forcing events."

In August last year the prime ministers of Romania and the Republic of Moldova signed an agreement on economic and commercial cooperation. At the same time, an intergovernmental commission of economic, commercial and technical-scientific cooperation was created. The agreement, to which protocols on cooperation in various areas added, offers a more favorable framework for the relations of integrations between the two countries imparting to them a greater consistency.

In 1991, a state undersecretariat for relations with the Republic of Moldova was created within the Romanian Foreign Ministry and it later on turned into a directorate, a body responsible, inter alia, for Romania's aggregate relations with the Republic of Moldova, for possible measures and actions to develop those relations and support the Republic of Moldova in its assertion on a European and international plane.

Melescanu 'Moderately Optimistic' on Hungarian Ties

AU2005204492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 20 May 92

[Interview with Theodor Melescanu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Nicu Popescu on 20 May at Otopeni Airport—recorded]

[Text] [Popescu] Mr. Secretary of State, you just returned from a visit, which, I believe, has been desired by many people for quite some time. It has been a long time since such relations and meetings between the Romanian and Hungarian sides took place. What are the main conclusions after your official talks in Budapest?

[Melescanu] Indeed, it is unfortunate that we have had no contacts of late at the Foreign Ministry level. In this respect, I was very pleased to be able to meet with the colleagues of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, colleagues in charge of ties with Romania.

I would like to say that I return from this meeting in Budapest moderately optimistic, because, I must confess, there was a very good, collegial, and extremely constructive atmosphere on the part of the Hungarian colleagues. I had the opportunity of talking to people who were not only very knowledgeable, but also very kind and friendly. I am referring to State Secretary Tamas Katona and Mr. Istvan Baba, who is undersecretary of state directly in charge of coordinating relations with Romania. I say that I am optimistic because I also noted a certain change in the attitude of the Hungarian colleagues, who seem to be increasingly aware of the idea of Romanian and Hungarian integration in the European structure. I believe that this interest in our joint integration and participation in the European structures will play a positive part in Romanian-Hungarian relations.

I qualified my optimism as moderate because the Romanian-Hungarian relations are burdened with a very heavy inheritance from the dictatorial regimes that existed in Hungary—both the communist regime and the one before it, namely the Horthy regime, which promoted a certain policy toward Romania—and from the policy promoted by the communist regime in our country vis-a-vis Hungary and the relations with the Hungarian minority. Many problems have been accumulated in our relations, but my impression is that through a joint effort and sincere attempts to seek solutions for each of these problems, which are many, and even though they may be small they are still very important. I believe that we will be able to make progress in this respect, too.

I said that I am optimistic, because the atmosphere was good and my impression is that we are on the right track. I am only moderately optimistic, however, because indeed, there are many difficulties which must be overcome in Romanian-Hungarian relations.

[Popescu] Mr. Minister, I know that the third stage of your schedule there—the first two stages, if I may call them that were the talks with your counterparts and the meeting with Mr. Jeszenszky—was the meeting with the Romanian minority in Hungary. You met directly with them today.

[Melescanu] Indeed, this morning I visited Gyula, the town where an important part of the small Romanian minority in Hungary is concentrated. At the end of

World War I, this minority was estimated at around 250,000 people, while today it only amounts to 25,000—a dramatic fall of more than tenfold, which is mainly due to the assimilation of the Romanian minority and the loss of the Romanian language and the Romanian cultural identity. To tell you frankly, both sides were most impressed with each other. I was very pleased to talk with the president of the Romanian community, the vicar of the Romanian Orthodox Church of Gyula, and other members of the presidium and steering bureau of this movement. I listened to their problems, which are not simple, and I assured them that one of the foreign policy priorities of the new Romanian Government is care and support for Romanians in the Diaspora. We believe that these people can become true bridges between countries and nations and we consider that, while staying loyal to the government and the laws of the country in which they live, they must also make an effort to maintain their identity, language, and ties with this country. I thought it well advised to tell them that, by acting in this dual capacity, they can represent a positive factor which can favorably influence Romanian-Hungarian relations.

Foreign Ministry Weekly News Conference

AU2005190392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1992—The Romanian foreign minister, Adrian Nastase, will attend on 23 and 24 May the second conference in Lisbon on international aid for the former Soviet Union countries that are now members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The invitation was extended by the Vice president of the European Community Frans Adriessen and Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Jesus Pinheiro, the ministry's spokesman, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu told a weekly news conference on 20 May.

He said that the Romanian participants to the first conference on the coordination of international aid for the independent states that emerged from the former Soviet Union, in Washington on 22 and 23 January, had outlined Romania's potential involvement in aid projects for the CIS, especially in house building, the power industry and technical consultancy.

The Foreign Ministry's spokesman also said that Secretary of State Teodor Melescanu was on an official visit to Hungary where he had talks with Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Tamas Katona and Under Secretary of State Ivan Baba on the development prospects of the Romanian-Hungarian relations and on bilateral cooperation at international organizations and conferences.

The Romanian side took the opportunity to re-state the priority of negotiations for a comprehensive treaty between Romania and Hungary to set the framework for a growing bilateral cooperation including the initiation of actions apt to develop the mutual links in all areas. Answering questions asked at previous news conferences the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, made some points at the May 20 news conference on the Romanian-French relations. He assessed that after the December 1989 revolution Romania's relations with France had steadily developed and diversified on a political, economic, cultural, parliamentary and other planes. From the point of view of economic relations, he said, France was one of Romania's most important partners ranking first in point of investments in Romania and the eighth in point of number of companies with French participation (according to the records of the Romanian development agency).

As to the postponement, several times, of the visit to Romania of French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas who is also chairman for France of the Romanian-French Intergovernmental Commission for Cooperation the proceedings of which had been scheduled over October 10-12, 1991 in Bucharest with the participation of the chief of the French diplomacy, the Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the session had been postponed several times at the request of the French side first for December 13, 1991, then for January 20-21 1992, giving as reasons "the developments in Europe, more particularly in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia" which entailed urgent, unexpected trips of the French foreign minister. The proposal that France's foreign minister visit Romania on April 16, 1992 had again been reconsidered by the French side because of the "implications of regional elections in France" Traian Chebeleu said adding that the French Foreign Ministry notified the Romanian Embassy in Paris that the rescheduling of Roland Dumas' visit and of the proceedings of the joint inter-governmental commission could be taken into consideration for this autumn.

Assembly Rejects Bill on Presidential Election

AU1905111292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0735 GMT 19 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/5/1992—The Chamber of Deputies rejected Monday, May 18, the bill on the election of Romania's president. According to the constitution, the bill will be sent back to the Senate, that has already passed it, to tackle it again. Afterwards it will be sent again to the Chamber of Deputies. If the bill is rejected once again, it can no longer be debated during the term of office of the current Parliament. The bill was rejected as the deputies did not agree on its last but one article, stipulating simultaneity of legislative and presidential elections.

Government Discusses Elections, Budget

AU2005190192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1831 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 20/5/1992—At the Wednesday, May 20 meeting the members of the executive dwelt first on general elections expressing concern over the way in which legislative activity meant to ensure their organization in the first half of this year was being finalized, reads a communique sent to ROMPRES for

release. Next, the government tackled the claiming actions registered over the last few days and the pending labor conflicts reiterating its readiness to talk them over.

Also debated were proposals of amending the 1992 budget law, proposals included in a bill that is to be submitted to parliament. The financial resources identified over this period are to supplement health, education, national defense, culture, public order expenses. The budgets of basic industrial branches as well as local budgets are to be supplemented to finance social protection measures (in point of thermal energy and urban passenger transport).

The Economy and Finance Minister George Danielescu set forth the results of the negotiations on the loan accord between Romania and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development meant to assist the economic programme in 1992. (the 400-million dollar loan is to finance strictly necessary imports.

To support the disadvantaged social segments the executive passed a draft resolution stipulating pension rises. Thus, starting June 1 length-of-service pensions are to be increased by 25 per cent; all- grade incapacitation pensions, heir pensions and social benefits from state social security funds and the allowances for the blind are to be increased by 10 per cent.

Favors Elections by 'End of July'

AU2005202692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] In today's government session, the members of the executive branch tackled the issue of general elections and expressed their concern over the progress of the legislative work for organizing and holding the elections in the first half of this year. In this connection, the following communique was released:

In keeping with its initial goals and with the inherent responsibilities of the mandate entrusted to it by Parliament on 16 October 1991, the Romanian Government expresses its interest in holding the general elections in the first part of this year. The government took note of the difficulties that emerged during the legislative process aimed at ensuring the holding of the envisaged elections, difficulties which might lead to their postponement until next fall. In view of the domestic and international effects and costly consequences of such a postponement for the country, the government kindly calls on the Parliament members and the leaders of the political parties to take the necessary steps to overcome their differences, so as to ensure the necessary framework for holding the elections by the end of July 1992.

The government believes that in order to attain this goal, one might conceivably reduce the period allocated for the electoral campaign and appropriately change all other datelines stipulated in the various draft bills. We hope, the government communique emphasizes, that this message will be considered as an expression of the government's desire to observe its pledge to organize the general elections and commendably conclude the entire electoral process in our country.

Izetbegovic Comments on Confederation, Lisbon Talks

AU2105211092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 May 92

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by an unidentified Sarajevo Radio and Television correspondent at the International Press Center at the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Sarajevo—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Tonight's guest of Bosnia-Hercegovina Radio and Television Bosnia-Hercegovina is Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Good evening, Mr. Izetbegovic.

[Izetbegovic] Good evening.

[Correspondent] Mr. Izetbegovic has just come from the presidency session. What were you discussing?

[Izetbegovic] As you know, we are holding sessions all the time, two sessions a day. One is usually held in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Today's topic was, above all, the problem of the children, the negotiations with the Army about releasing the children. I think that the listeners should learn the details about it.

In brief, I would like to say that the Army stated an ultimatum. They wanted us to allow them to bring food to the Viktor Bubanj Barracks. After that, they would release the children. They held them for 48 hours because of that. We met these demands, even though our military position in this respect has certainly weakened, that is to say their position has improved. We simply had to do it because of the children, however. This was one topic.

The other topic was the negotiations, which have been dragging on for 11 or 12 days already, on the Army's evacuation from two barracks—actually four barracks, but primarily two of them—the Viktor Bubanj and Marshal Tito Barracks here in Sarajevo. The Army is changing its views every day. As soon as we accept some conditions, it turns them down. I have now been informed that General Boskovic, I think that is his name, has come from the General Staff. He was sent by General Panic personally to try to resolve this problem with us. It is not up to us. We want the Army to go. They obviously do not want to go. There are a number of cadets and women and children here in the Marshal Tito Barracks. We would like to get rid of this burden as soon as posible, but it is not up to us. Finally, we also discussed the Sarajevo district of Dobrinja. We are trying to help the residents of Dobrinja somehow, to at least get electricity as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] When, in your view, could the Army leave the barracks?

[Izetbegovic] As I said, this does not in fact depend on us; it depends on the Army. They are using stalling tactics. Why? Of course, we can only guess the reasons. One of the reasons, is, of course, to get into these barracks. This will most probably be thwarted, if they try to do this. We do not know the reasons. You should ask them. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The so-called Split agreement between the Party of Democratic Action, which you head, and the Croatian Democratic Community on a confederation between the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia has caused a sharp reaction among the people. What does this agreement mean for Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is caught up in a war? What will it achieve?

[Izetbegovic] First of all, I would like to say something about the people claiming to be surprised. I was surprised, too, by the reaction. This question was taken too seriously. It is understood as if a confederation between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia is being created now. This is not the case at all. Actually, we held discussions, that is to say, the parties held discussions. (?I must point out) that these were not the state delegations. No document on this has been signed. These talks were supposed to coordinate and arrive at certain types of cooperation, better coordination between the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Muslim people of Bosnia-Hercegovina on resisting aggression. They (?have two parties, do they not?) Among other things, the idea of a confederation was mentioned. I think that it is a bit strange that everything else was ignored except that part of the discussion. If you remember the wording, the two delegations concluded that this idea is acceptable, and nothing more. Therefore, we are not talking about the direct creation of a confederation. This is a state matter, about which other parties, the assembly, citizens, a referendum, and others also have to be consulted, on both sides.

On the other hand, this was discussion of a confederation, the revival of an initiative that has been present here all the time, that has existed for some time, at least a year, that existed as an option, a political solution, a confederal solution of the organization that would include a number of states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Of course, this time we had (?political talks) between two delegations (?that) mentioned a confederation with Croatia. There was also a mention of Slovenia, Macedonia, even Serbia, if it becomes democratic one day, if it has a democratic government, and some other countries. Therefore, this is not something that is just about to happen. I would also like to say that the people were misinformed that the Party of Democratic Action was represented by Irfan Ajanovic. (?He is) currently in the United States and could have not been there. The (?delegation) was led by the vice president of the party, (?Stane Hradic). (?There were) also (?Professor) Stankovic and Alija Alihodzic from Zenica. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You did not go to Lisbon. Will you go?

[Izetbegovic] I will not go to Lisbon, although I was (?invited) again by Mr. Pinheiro, chairman of the EC. I

cannot go there for political and technical reasons. One cannot simply go there. Mr. Cutilheiro, however, today contacted Haris Silajdzic [foreign minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina] who is currently in Washington, and proposed that he come on Saturday [23 May] and discuss the possibility of further talks. We do not want to be uncooperative, we do not want to be accused of being uncooperative, we cannot ignore all these appeals, because I received letters from Cutilheiro, Carrington, and [words indistinct]. The Americans think that the talks should be held and that we must respond to such invitations. I think that Mr. Silajdzic will travel to Lisbon the day after tomorrow with Irfan Ajanovic, who is also in the United States. So, those two will go. They will talk about the possibility of further negotiations on that plan. [passage omitted]

Latest Round of Peace Talks Postponed Again

LD2105114392 Lisbon RDP Internacional in Portuguese 1100 GMT 21 May 92

[Excerpt] The talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina's future, expected to resume today here, in Lisbon, have been postponed yet again because the republic's president and Muslim leader cannot leave the country. Ambassador Jose Cutilheiro, the EC Presidency representative, said that until Alija Izetbegovic arrives, he can hold only bilateral talks with the leaders of the Serbian and Croatian minorities. Jose Cutilheiro added that he will try to contact the Bosnian president to find a way of enabling him to come to Lisbon or to find a representative to take his place at these talks. [passage omitted]

Communications, Water Supply Cut in Jajce

AU2105195892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 92

[Mehmed Fuhic report from Jajce]

[Excerpts] After all communications between Jajce and Donji Vakuf and even the neighboring local community of Vinac have been cut for days, after a (?rockslide) blocked the road toward Banja Luka down the Vrbas canyon, and after rigorous road controls have been imposed on the road toward Mrkonjic Grad, the encirclement around this, for the time being, still-peaceful Bosnian town seems to be tightening. It has been known for a long time that one cannot watch the Studio Sarajevo program of Bosnia-Hercegovina Television in this town. Then came the ban on taking flour from the Bravnica mill, which is only 3 km away from the center of Jajce. Now, after everything else, this town is now without potable water. It has just been reported that the employees of the so-called water works, which is on the outskirts of town, some 2 km away near the so-called Tetovi Most, were chased away by unidentified armed people who shut off the water supply lines to Jajce. [passage omitted]

For the time being, the crisis headquarters decided to resolve the problems through talks and negotiations, at least as regards the water supply. The mood of those people who are armed, however, who are plentiful, is that this be resolved in a different manner which we all fear, as the already very tense situation could escalate into a clash of wider dimensions. In hopes that the people who are trying to achieve their goals by road blockades and force will become reasonable, the Jajce crisis headquarters reported that water will be supplied to the citizens by the use of cisterns and they ask the residents for their maximum possible patience. This was Mehmet Fuhic reporting from Jajce for Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina.

More Typhus, Jaundice Reported in Kupres Region

AU2105202292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 92

[Excerpt] Following are the reports from Glamoc and Kupres, which we received via fax from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to the personal appeals by Milan Zjaic, member of the headquarters for the removal of the consequences of war destruction in Kupres, and Sava Corda, former Glamoc deputy in the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Hercegovina, made to the stations and security services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the situation is also deteriorating in the devastated region of the Kupres plateau and in the Glamoc, Bosansko Grahovo and Drvar communes. Cases of typhus, jaundice, and starvation are becoming more frequent in these regions. The Serbian population there demands that the main culprits and perpetrators of the devastation be brought to justice by the Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina. [passage omitted].

President Tudjman Departs for New York 21 May

LD2105122792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Zagreb, 21 May (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman will fly to New York today following Croatia's announced admission to the United Nations, it was announced in Zagreb. Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic and Hrvoje Sarinic, secretary of the Republic's presidential office, are accompanying Tudjman on his visit to New York.

Charges Filed Against Hadzic, Ministers

LD2105200492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1225 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Zagreb, 21 May (TANJUG)—The military prosecutor's office in Osijek has filed charges against Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and his ministers. They are charged with committing "A criminal act against the Republic of Croatia and endangering its territorial integrity." Apart form Hadzic, a further 27 officials in the Republic of Serbian Krajina are charged. According to the Croatian press, since they are unable to be prosecuted personally, it is suggested that the military court in Osijek issue a warrant for their arrest and try them in their absence.

Assembly Debates Minorities' Law

92BA0904F Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 92 p 4

[Unattributed article: "For and Against the Law on Minorities and the 'Zupanijski' Postponements: Croats—A Threatened Minority!"]

[Text] There were representatives who did not begin to or want to believe in the fairness of the Law on Human Rights and Freedoms, and on the Rights of Ethnic and National Societies or Minorities in the Republic of Croatia, regardless of pressure from the international community. Who was "for" and who "against"?

Goran Bijan asked where the dignity of the Assembly was lost and whether it is a mere service for Europe. He protested the enactment of the changed constitutional law when Croatia did not resolve in detail the organization of territorial administration. He believes this law is anticivilization and inhuman, even toward Serbs who have been ghettoized in administrative districts. Zvonko Spisic believes that Croatia can enact such a law, but only when it is the victor in the war against Serbia, which it isn't yet. Croats who have fled occupied areas before the terror will return only when they feel at home, and not as a threatened minority. If Croatia passes a law according to the dictates of Europe, as is constantly emphasized, this means that Croatia has a limited sovereignty, Spisic concluded.

Josip Pankretic and Vera Babic supported the change in the Law, aware of the depth of the feelings with which refugees are burdened. Marijan Juric reminded all the representatives that Croatian children are dying at the hands of those who are loyal by day and snipers at night. He is also aware that Croatia has been forced to compromise, while Serbs from Knin and Glina do not have to put their neck in the Serbian yolk. All Serbs are not the same, Juric said, since some slaughter us, and others beat us with VBR [expansion unknown].

Antun Katunar is aware, like the majority of the representatives, that Croatia is subjected to the dictates and pressures of Europe, which is not equal towards all, because it does not seek the protection of minority rights from Croatian adversaries. Drago Krpina, representative from Benkovac, cited all the reasons, from economic, trade, and cultural, that do not justify the establishment of administrative districts, but also policies to which Croatia simply must adhere, with all the psychological uneasiness. He categorically asserted that "the Croatian state will move" into those two administrative districts, that the Croatian army will be organized in them, and that Croats will return to their places. It was probably most difficult for Nedeljko Visnjic: as a Serb and one of the few who constantly emphasized in the Assembly how important the sensitivity of the Assembly, the leadership, and the Croatian public, which is enacting this law at time of war, is to them; this indicates how deeply reality and interests are recognized. "Serbs in Croatia can think what they want about the Croatian government, but there is one government, there is one homeland, and we do not have other homelands except Croatia," Visnjic said. Warning that criminals have their names and surnames, but that there are Serbs in Croatia who are prepared to extend their hand, Ivan Vekic emphasized that he is raising his hand for a minority law, but that he has not been forced by anyone's dictates, but his own civilized norms.

Finally Vladimir Seks, as one of those who participated in the drafting of the law, felt an obligation to explain to the Croatian people what the application of the minority law will mean, to eliminate all the dilemmas that obviously still exist. Neither will criminals participate in the local organs of power in administrative districts, nor will Croatia give up having its own army in these places, said Seks. Croatia has obligated itself to arrive at European norms, and it is doing this, but it has not arrived at a lasting demilitarization in 11 districts, which was also supposed to be imposed. Croatia will have its military units with which it will guard its own borders and its police, which will protect the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia, and its judiciary, which means—Seks said—that the completeness of Croatian power of the Croatian legislature will be established in the military districts. Finally Vladimir Seks explained how Croatia agreed to the internationalization of the problem and to the arrival of peacekeeping forces under the condition of the establishment of Croatian sovereignty in all of Croatia and the return of exiles. If these strategic goals are not realized, the Croatian assembly, through the force of its arms, will now send its armies into a war for

the liberation of the occupied territories and for its cleansing of Chetniks and the army; this means that Croatia, through internationalization, has not agreed to compromises and concessions as far as the approval of what has been found is concerned.

Minister Resigns in Protest

LD2105195592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Ivan Cesar, a minister in the Croatian government of democratic unity, has handed his irrevocable resignation to Prime Minister Franjo Greguric, the Croatian Christian Democratic Party revealed this morning. In connection with this, Cesar sent Greguric a letter stating his reasons for the resignation as the adopted amendments and addenda to the constitutional law on human rights and rights of ethnic or national communities or minorities in the Republic of Croatia.

"I am convinced that such a law protects neither the interests of the Croatian population nor the interests of the minorities, and does not contribute to the defense of the homeland," Mr. Cesar writes. He adds: "Because of this, Croatian Christian Democratic Party basic tenants do not allow me to stay any longer in the government which must implement that law, and which thus will not be able to resolve accumulating economic difficulties. I ask you, Mr. Prime Minister, to accept my irrevocable resignation from the post of minister in the Croatian Government. I ask you to accept my respect and gratitude," Cesar's letter to Prime Minister Greguric says.

Aircraft Strafe Island Near Dubrovnik

LD2105135592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 May 92

[Excerpts] A general alert has been in force in Zadar since 1020 yesterday because the enemy is firing artillery and mortar shells from all its strongholds on the town, suburbs, and positions held by the Croatian Army. The same was happening this morning when about 30 missiles fell on the town, and again at 1100 and 1300 when about 20 explosions rocked the town. Six people, including civilians and Croatian soldiers, were killed and 20 wounded in the past six days since the aggression on Zadar started. [passage omitted]

Enemy aircraft have strafed the island Sipan. The Dubrovnik defense command confirmed that two aircraft of the Serbian and Montenegrin army attacked the island at 1405. According to the first reports, there were no casualties among the Croatian soldiers and civilians. Minutes afterward, an air alert was sounded in Dubrovnik because jets were making passes over the town. Citizens are in shelters. [passage omitted]

'Enemy' Aircraft Downed

LD2105212792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 gmt 21 May 92

[Text] The anti-aircraft guns of the Ston [word indistinct] today brought down one of the three enemy army aircraft which shortly after 1400 [1200 GMT] strafed Sipan Island. The pilot of the downed aircraft was captured. The targets of the criminals in the air were the largest villages on the island, but there were no casualties among the Croatian soldiers or islanders.

Analysis of Moscow's Support of Belgrade

92P20277A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 May 92 p 9A

[Article by NOVI VJESNIK Moscow correspondent Bogoljub Lacmanovic: "Protecting Belgrade, Are They Thinking of Themselves?"]

[Text] The unanimous decision of ministers of foreign affairs of European Community member states to recall their ambassadors from Belgrade and the request that Yugoslavia be excluded from the Conference of European Security and Cooperation continues to be greeted with lack of understanding by the Russian government and the Kremlin. A commentary on Moscow television on 12 May stated that "the decision of the EC ministers made on 11 May in Brussels arouses perplexity and concern on the part of the Kremlin government." The commentator, who did not conceal that he was expressing the official position of his government, first gave credit to the EC for its enormous involvement in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis but then concluded that this effort is ineffective because of the increase in armed clashes, clearly implying that Moscow holds the EC partly responsible for this situation.

"Why should only Belgrade be punished when the neighbors who surround Yugoslavia also bear responsiblity for the present situation" the Moscow television commentary stressed. It can be concluded that Russia will not so easily change its position and that it will continue to protect Belgrade from expulsion from the CSCE and from international isolation.

As of 12 May, domestic and foreign jounalists could not learn more on Moscow's position on the EC and on the US request to expel Yugoslavia from the CSCE because, contrary to custom, the scheduled briefing by the spokesman of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not held. Thus, the journalists could not obtain any explanation as to why Moscow was concerned and why, allegedly, it finds the position of the EC toward Belgrade unclear. Similarly, the journalists were unable to verify the claim by Radio London's Russian language news program that Genscher and Baker had agreed that America and Germany should send delegates to Boris Yeltsin to convince him that it is necessary to cancel the veto of the decision on the exclusion of Yugoslavia from the CSCE.

Recently, the Moscow newpapers have not given great publicity to the Russian position at Helsinki. However, the news that the EC member states have decided to recall their ambassadors from Belgrade was published in a conspicuous place, without comment except for the conclusion that what is at issue is the international isolation of Yugoslavia.

The Russian public could nevertheless conclude that the Kremlin did not agree with the moves of the West and that it wanted to save from isolation "its traditional, age-old friends and allies, Serbia and Montenegro," because on 11 May the papers published the news that Yeltsin's top diplomat Andrey Kozyrev had sent an urgent telegram to the Serbian leadership with a personal request that the Serbian side implement a cease-fire in Bosnia.

The reason for such decisive support of the Kremlin for Serbia is surely not only the "traditional friendship." For, after Russia had sold rocket engines to India, the United States threatened Moscow with economic sanctions if it did not rescind the agreement. Russia rejected the ultimatum, informing Washington that it will not allow "one center to dictate world trends." However, even a stronger reason for supporting Belgrade is Russia's fear that it will soon be in the same position in view of the fact that the danger of the desintegration of the Russian Federation has not been removed.

The full text of the telegram of Andrey Kozyrev to Belgrade was not published in Moscow, but Moscow television, without citing sources, claimed as early as the afternoon of 12 May that "the Serbian community" in Bosnia-Hercegovina had decided to implement the cease-fire.

At the same time, the Russian newspapers, reporting from the battlefield in Bosnia-Hercegovina, suggest to their readers that all the sides are equally responsible for the armed conflict. ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, the paper of the Russian parliament, in its 12 May issue, claims that it has evidence that not only have Muslims and Croats been fighting against Serbs and the Federal Army in Bosnia-Hercegovina but that there are also armed conflicts between Muslims and Croats.

Resignations in JNA Leadership Considered

92BA0904E Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 92 p 2A

[Article by Zeljko Buksa: "Awaiting the Names"]

[Text] How will the latest shift in the Yugo-army leadership be reflected in the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina? Has a line simply been drawn with this under the conquests made up to now and have younger and more capable forces been pushed into action for further conquests and total war or will that now already completely Serbian army be satisfied with what has been achieved so far and attempt to preserve temporarily occupied territories? Not even well-known military analysts agree about that.

More precise answers will be known only after the appointment of the, for now, still unknown successors to the replaced generals, among whom the youngest "Yugo-general," Dr. Vuk Obradovic, will most probably get one of the leading functions. Moreover, the arrival of younger and better trained people at the head of the "Yugo-army" does not necessarily also have to mean its greater aggressiveness, because among them there are also those not interested in maintaining the fiction of some new "Yugoslavia" and the expansion of its territory through arms at any cost.

But if the aging generals are succeeded by younger, more militant officers, prepared to follow blindly the demands of the Serbian political leadership, the big question is whether and to what extent that army can fulfill their wishes. Specifically, its technical and manpower potential has been significantly destroyed in the war up to now. In the war in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, they have lost an appreciable part of their offensive weapons, especially aircraft and tanks, without which it is difficult to initiate new aggression. Moreover, Serbia does not have specialists for maintaining and repairing the existing aircraft, and it has money still less for the purchase of new aircraft and other weapons. Antiwar sentiment is being seen in the Serbian public, since Serbia has not gained anything through the war, and has lost much.

The majority of experts expect that the "JA" [Yugoslav Army], now transferred under the leadership of "Krajina authorities" into Bosnia-Hercegovina, will attempt to establish, under the same procedure as in Croatia, firm control over the greater part of this state, drive Croats and Muslims out of them, and, finally, under the policy of fait accompli, seek legalization of such a situation from the international public, most probably through the introduction of UN forces.

Slovenia Signs Agreement With EFTA

AU2105102192 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Slovenia made a step to join the West European integration processes yesterday. At a special celebration in Reykjavik, Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Joze Pucnik and the EFTA economic and foreign ministers have signed a declaration on cooperation in order to increase and liberalize trade between Slovenia and the seven EFTA member states.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Jeszenszky Visits

LD2105200392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 May 92

[Excerpts] Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky has travelled to Slovenia. Special correspondent Gyoergyi Orban reports from Lendava:

[Orban] [passage omitted] Geza Jeszenszky said that not only should politicians visit each other but people should make friends, for good cooperation can evolve only in this manner. He announced that a further five border crossing points will be opened along the Slovenian-Hungarian border.

In Lendava, the center of the Mura region, (Maria Pozanec), chairperson of the Association of Magyars in Slovenia, informed the Hungarian foreign minister that approximately 10,000 Magyars live in the region with distinguished rights, bilingual education, and more than 20 cultural groups. Last year eight independent Magyar books were published in the Mura region. Magyars even have an independent radio and an independent television program.

Discusses Crisis With Kucan

LD2105200892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Great attention was paid to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina at the talks held by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in Slovenia. Gyoergyi Orban reports from Ljubljana:

[Orban] According to Slovenian President Milan Kucan, the state federation of Serbia-Montenegro should be forced to change its policy of territorial conquest and to respect human and minority rights with a strict embargo. Questioned by Hungarian Radio, the Slovenian president said:

[Kucan is heard briefly, fading into Hungarian translation] We reviewed with Foreign Minister Jeszenszky not only bilateral relations, because he discussed those in detail with Prime Minister Drnovsek and Foreign Minister Rupel, but also the Yugoslav crisis. We established, said Kucan, that the international community stop hesitating and Serbia be separated by a U.S. ban on Yugoslav Airlines planes' landing in New York and Chicago. At the same time Kucan ruled out the possibility of military retaliation against Serbia.

Treaty, Agreements Detailed

LD2105201592 Budapest MTI in English 1438 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Ljubljana, May 21 (MTI)—A bilateral friendship and cooperation treaty, a free trade agreement, minority rights protection accords, an air traffic agreement, constructing a new motorway, and opening new border stations were the issues discussed at talks between Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek and Slovene President Milan Kucan today. The agreements are expected to be signed during a visit by Drnovsek to Budapest, Jeszenszky said at a press briefing after the talks.

Hungary seeks to build close ties with Slovenia, Hungarian foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman said reporting about the talks. Slovenia has shown great interest in building a Trieste-Kiev motorway, and it hopes for Hungary's support in completing the project. At the press briefing, asked about ethnic Hungarians in the Vojvodina region, Jeszenszky said Serbs have set eyes on the Hungarian community's houses and started deploying troops withdrawing from other areas to regions inhabited by minorities.

International

Response to U.S. Revoking JAT Landing Rights

LD2105192492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1659 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 May (TANJUG)—The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was informed today about the decision of the U.S. Transportion Department to revoke landing rights for Yugoslav Airlines, TANJUG learned from the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. In a statement issued in connection with this, the government assessed that the decision contravenes basic principles contained in the UN Charter and the UN declaration on the principles of international law and friendly relations and cooperation between states, as well as the CSCE Final Act and the Paris Charter, specifically the articles on cooperation in the field of transport as one of important factors for the development of cooperation among member-states, which ought to be stimulated.

The Yugoslav Government maintains that political demands made by the State Department cannot be accepted, specifically the explanation given in the 20 May letter from U.S. Secretary of State James Baker about the Yugoslav side not providing guarantees for the reopening of Sarajevo airport, which would help the United Nations and EC bring in humanitarian aid and provide guarantees for the withdrawal of "the Serbian military forces from the airport and nearby hills." The Yugoslav Government officially informed all CSCE members about its efforts to reopen the airport at a session of the CSCE senior officials on 18 May. Announcements made at yesterday's news conference that the United States independently and in cooperation with its allies will introduce other concrete sanctions as a response to the alleged continuous Serbian aggression are equally unacceptable. This is even more so because Yugoslavia is not a factor in the escalation of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and is making great efforts to end armed conflicts, which is confirmed by the implementation of the decision to withdraw citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the armed forces on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This has not been implemented by the set deadline only because local authorities and armed formations are preventing it.

The U.S. decision contravenes the basic principles of cooperation proclaimed in multilateral documents in the field of air traffic and the rights of states that are members of the 1944 Chicago Convention on unhampered air traffic. The decision of the U.S. Government, as stated in the letter by Secretary of State Baker, is motivated exclusively by political reasons which are placed above the interests of the citizens and economies of both countries. The consequences will be felt mainly by thousands of refugees who are now left without the opportunity to receive humanitarian aid from the United States by Yugoslav Airline planes. "The Yugoslav Government therefore calls on the U.S. Government to reconsider this move and rescind the decision to stop air traffic," the Yugoslav Government concludes in its statement.

Kosovo

'Underground' Premier Bukoshi on Elections

AU2205100392 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 22 May 02 p 2

[Interview with Bujar Bukoshi, "prime minister of the underground government in Kosovo, who is living in exile," by Livia Klingl; place and date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Vienna/Pristina/Tirana—The Albanians in Kosovo, who have been deprived of many of their rights, will hold the first free parliamentary and presidential elections in Kosovo in the underground on Sunday [24 May]. The Serbs have described the planned voting as illegal. In Albania, developments in Kosovo are being followed with particular interest.

Bujar Bukoshi, physician and prime minister of Kosovo's underground government, who is living in exile, explained in an interview with DER STANDARD the problems that the Albanians in Kosovo are facing in preparing the elections.

[Bukoshi] These elections are not directed against anybody. However, Serbia has now officially declared that it will not allow free elections in Kosovo. Even the Serbian opposition is against the vote. If elections should be held, and if an independent state of Kosovo should be proclaimed, Belgrade will install a military government, a Serbian opposition politician pointed out.

[Klingl] How many parties are participating in the elections?

[Bukoshi] Twenty-two Albanian parties and groups. The Muslims in Kosovo have also expressed their willingness to take part, and the Croats and the Roman gypsies, too. The Serbs will not participate, despite the fact that we invited them. Technically, everything has been prepared. The elections can be held unless Serbia finds a pretext to intervene by using force.

[Klingl] What will happen after the elections?

[Bukoshi] The results will be published. Afterward, there will have to be negotiations on the realization of the republic of Kosovo. The Albanians have decided that they no longer want to accept Serbian rule. We want a civilized transition of power, without war and bloodshed. For this reason, we are trying to inform the international public that we are always ready for dialogue with Serbia. Kosovo used to be independent, it was

one of the eight republics of the former Yugoslavia. We are entitled to self-determination, and we will insist on it.

[Klingl] Do the Albanians in Kosovo want unification with Albania?

[Bukoshi] We do not see this as a short-term project, which means that we are ready for the biggest compromise in Europe. We are renouncing unification for the time being. However, we demand Kosovo's recognition as a state.

[Klingl] Are you afraid that the war in Bosnia might spread to Kosovo?

[Bukoshi] We are very afraid that this conflagration will spread from Bosnia to the south. However, the situation would not be comparable. The population in Kosovo is unarmed and defenseless. This would not be a war but a massacre among the population.

Commentary on Kosmet's 'Parallel Duality'

AU2105103192 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA (supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 May 92 p 4

[Milos Antic article: "Shadows of Various Eagles Flying"]

[Text] The last weeks of May will be the greatest test of the stability of the Kosmet peace. It will show for how long, and with what consequences, this political, cultural, educational, economic, and statehood parallel duality, can go on. It will show whether Serbia will continue to turn both blind eyes to the Albanian leaders' attempts at constituting the "Republic of Kosovo", and simply say, as it has many times before, that it is all fictitious, legally invalid, and constitutionally nonexistent, or whether Belgrade will change its strategy and reply to all this with some other means.

Return from Exile

If one is to judge by the words of the number two man of the Socialist Party of Serbia, Petar Skundric, at his party's session in Kosovska Mitrovica, it is highly unlikely that the Albanians will be allowed to carry out their multiparty elections for their "Republic of Kosovo". His message was unambiguous: They will be prevented with all available means. This can be taken as simply a statement made by one party official, but it should be taken into account that he is an official of the ruling party, which came to power also because Kosmet was constitutionally incorporated into the unitary Republic of Serbia. The authorities in power have also come under increasing pressure from the Serbian population of Kosmet, who do not want to know about any kind of trading with Kosmet, let alone about some kinds of maps and concessions.

On the other hand, the Albanian element in Kosmet, which has been ignored, even when it persistently and forcefully pursued its own cause, now rejects all offers of good will, sent directly or indirectly from Serbia. The Albanians ignored the statement made by the president of the republic, Slobodan Milosevic, that Albanians cannot be second-class citizens. They are not interested in messages from Belgrade that the Serbian authorities have decided to change their orientation [reterirati] towards Kosmet and the Albanians. They pay no attention to the fact that the local elections in Serbia on 31 May give them a chance to gain power in Kosmet, to return to the system's institutions, and attain the highest degree of autonomy in a peaceful way. The extremely well-developed local information and propaganda activities ignore even the fact that the new education law gives ethnic minorities the right to education on all levels in their mother tongue. And we could go on and on. In short, everything that comes from Serbia is, for them, non-existent and unimportant, since, as they keep stressing, they have a state of their own. And after 24 May, when their parliamentary and presidential elections are due, they will have their own parliament, their own president, their own government, and everything else. And not in exile, but all these will have their seat in Pristina.

So, while it is still unclear how and with what means Serbia will respond to this latest act of constitutionalizing the "Republic of Kosovo", the leaders of Albanian political parties are leaving nothing to chance. During the last 10 days, many of them have been travelling around Europe and the rest of the world, lobbying international observers for their elections and inviting them to come and witness "how the Serbian authorities will prevent a nation from obtaining its most democratic rights." At the same time, of course, they avoid mentioning that they want to form a state within a state, and that this new state of theirs is rejected by several constituent nations that live in Kosmet.

Therefore, the question is logical and, unfortunately, inevitable: Is war imminent in Kosmet? For many it is equally important to know who will start it, as if that will make any difference once heads start to roll. The one thing that everyone is dreading, the one thing that has emptied the shelves in shops and created lines for bread, milk, and other basic supplies, is the question whether war is Kosmet's unavoidable fate and whether once again its skies are to be filled with cries of black, white, and various other eagles and vultures, whose shadows are already seen on the ground.

Neighbors Do Not Decide on War

People with long memories say that such things occur only at the onset of a war. Then again, the same people have noticed that relations between members of different ethnic groups have become considerably friendlier, that the old intolerance, even hatred, is no longer present. They will even go on to say that there is a sign of, if not heartiness, then respect between them. Still, those who notice all this will say they know that the question of

war and peace does not depend in the least on such relations between neighbors. That is up to some other people.

On the topic of war and peace, the following views can be heard these days in Kosmet: "if war is the only means of obtaining international recognition, then they will have war," "war, as the most glorious means for achieving the national aims of Albanians is also the only means for achieving them", "if they try to stop us from carrying out our elections they will get a fierce response," and "Albanians have never been cowards, nor will they be cowards now when everyone is at war." It is not difficult, of course, to figure out from whose side these sentiments come, but it would be unfair not to mention some other sentiments on the same subject that are supported by certain leaders of the democratic factions in the Albanian political block. For example, it is no secret that Rugova's Democratic Alliance of Kosovo supports "a peaceful solution to the Kosovo problem at any cost," claiming adamantly that "we do not want war. It suits the other side better." At the same time, they are not giving up their elections, although it is obvious that they will be the greatest challenge to peace, or rather, the greatest cause of unrest.

On the Serbian side one can hear things such as : "Serbia must use all means, and stop the Albanian secession at any cost," "Albanians dare not rise, because they know what will happen to them if they do," "The Serbs will never allow their motherland Kosovo to be taken away from them," and so on. Both sides are obviously trying to encourage themselves with such claims. As for reality, it is much gloomier, and the people are very anxious. But, more than anything else, they are anxious about the fact that even in this situation there is no one willing to talk and prevent the lurking evil.

Serbia

Draskovic Views Crisis, Condemns Milosevic

AU2005185092 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20 May 92 p 5

[Interview with Vuk Draskovic, chief of the Serbian Renewal Movement, by Jens Schneider in Belgrade; date not given: "Milosevic Has Become a Serbian Saddam"]

[Text] [Schneider] The war has spread. In what position are you now in Belgrade?

[Draskovic] Hard to say. The propaganda by the regime is indescribable. The regime has committed the greatest crime against Serbia's national interests, against Serbian democracy in general. It monopolizes television, controls the central press, and very many Serbs are confused as if they were under the influence of drugs. Many people have lost their ability to draw logical conclusions. Their eyes are closed. We do not have any way to inform the people.

[Schneider] How would you describe this Serbian tragedy?

[Draskovic] Until now it was the Serbs' ideal to have all Serbs together in one state—not only the Serbs, however, but also all those who speak Serbian or are of Serbian origin. But we knew from the start that such a state could not only be a Serbian state. It had to be a sort of southern Slav state. That is what we fought for and achieved after two Balkan wars. The destruction of Yugoslavia has led to the destruction of our national goals. That is a crime against Serbia's history. Now there is this war, by which Milosevic has isolated us in Europe. Never before did we have so few friends, and never before were we in such a shameful position. They are all against us. I can only hope that this rejection is not directed against the Serbian people, but solely against the criminal regime. You must see this: Years ago, young people in particular in our country warned about Milosevic's policy. At that time, in a sort of premonition, they called him Serbia's Saddam. Now he has really turned Serbia into an Iraq in the Balkans and he has become a Serbian Saddam. He is doing bloody business with the Serbian tragedy as well as with the tragedy of the Muslims and the Croatians. You see the victims on television every day—dead soldiers, dead civilians, destroyed villages and towns. But they are always dead Serbs and Serbian towns. Why do they not show us that the tragedy includes us all, Muslims, Croatians—people on all sides are losing their lives. Of course, the leadership is not the solely responsible for the war, but I must primarily deal with the problems here.

[Schneider] In your view, who are the people responsible for the war—the presidents of the other republics as well?

[Draskovic] All those who prevented communist Yugoslavia from being transformed into a European Yugoslavia, a Yugoslavia that would fit well into the European landscape, are politicians from the past, especially two of them—the Serbian and the Croat presidents. Tudjman and Milosevic resemble each other considerably, and mentally they are twins. They keep each other upright. A loss of power of the Serbian president would very quickly lead to the loss of power of the Croat president. But I must stress that two years ago, Slovenia was seeking a new confederation. Croatia was prepared to accept it and so were all the others. Only the Serbian president rejected it. Milosevic has also rejected all subsequent proposals. He has always pursued diplomacy by ultimatum, and now we see the result. That is also the way he rules Serbia. As the leader of the greatest opposition party, I never had a chance to talk to him. He also decreed that since March of last year I have been prohibited from setting foot in parliament. He ordered the founding of the new Yugoslavia and demanded that a constitution be prepared within three days. When the constitution was completed he prohibited any further discussion on it. So you see that Serbia is now one man's possession. Now he wants the people to confirm the constitution in elections on 31 May. He is telling them that only if they do so will this state be internationally

respected and recognized. In this respect, he is lying because the world would recognize this state only after free elections. Serbia must be liberated from its leadership to become free. With this interview, I may be running the risk of sanctions and perhaps legal action, but I also say all this out loud in this country.

[Schneider] Once again, who is to blame for the situation? Whom do you hold responsible?

[Draskovic] Two sides—the Serbian and the Croat sides. They have destroyed Yugoslavia.

[Schneider] What solution do you suggest to end the war?

[Draskovic] Everywhere—whether in Macedonia, Bosnia, Montenegro, or Serbia—politicians have won elections with the promise that they would save Yugoslavia. They have not kept this promise. That is why elections must be held again. But that requires a change in Belgrade. No one is afraid of Serbia, but everyone is afraid of a dictatorship by a regime in Belgrade that is now forming an alliance with Serbian fascism, which is increasing here. My proposal for solving the crisis is this: First, all republics should be recognized. Second, no changes of borders as a result of the war. Third, only then must we do everything in our power to cause Europe and our neighbors to support active border changes that would then be necessary. Western Hercegovina, which has a Croatian population of 98 percent, should go to Croatia. At the same time, Bosnia should get the Serbian Krajina. In this way both countries would be formed anew. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, a federation of Serbs and Muslims could be set up. In this way we would also solve the greatest problem between the Serbs and the Croats. Maybe this is not a good proposal, but so far I have not seen a better one.

[Schneider] Is it a problem for you always to be called anti-Serbian by the government?

[Draskovic] It is, and here in Belgrade they will probably cite from SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, and they will say in the press and on television that I granted a newspaper from fascist Germany an interview, and that I am a traitor. I only betray despotism, stupidity, and war.

[Schneider] How could you defeat Milosevic?

[Draskovic] I do not know how that could be done without bloodshed. I do not want bloodshed. It would be easy to mobilize thousands for a revolt, but that is not my policy. I am a democrat. I want to take power on the basis of free elections, and we do not have a chance in this respect. Democratic elections—including free television—would solve the problem of the Yugoslav crisis. But I am afraid the Serbs will yet have to suffer for a long time, and possibly a total catastrophe will be necessary, for the people to see what a politician our president is.

[Schneider] Is the policy pursued by the European Community helpful?

[Draskovic] No, it is not. I must criticize the EC policy. Look, the EC has recognized the fact that the Croatians broke away from the state of Yugoslavia. I have no objection to that, but then the people in areas in Croatia with a Serbian majority should also have a right to break away from Croatia. The EC does not recognize that. In addition, how can the European Community only attack the Serbs in the war in Bosnia? One would have to conclude that they all sit together peacefully there, except for the Serbs. That is not the case. Thousands of Croat soldiers have crossed the border and are fighting there, and there are the Ustasha from Paraga. This means that both Serbia and Croatia are interfering in Bosnia's affairs. Muslim extremists are also fighting there, so all sides are to blame. The EC should see that too. By accusing only the Serbs, the EC encourages the Croats and the Muslims. The EC has failed to differentiate sufficiently between the Serbs and the Serbian leadership. A majority of them is opposed to the policy pursued by the regime. The EC must see that most Serbs think European and want to be part of Europe.